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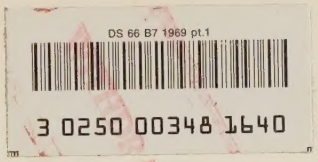
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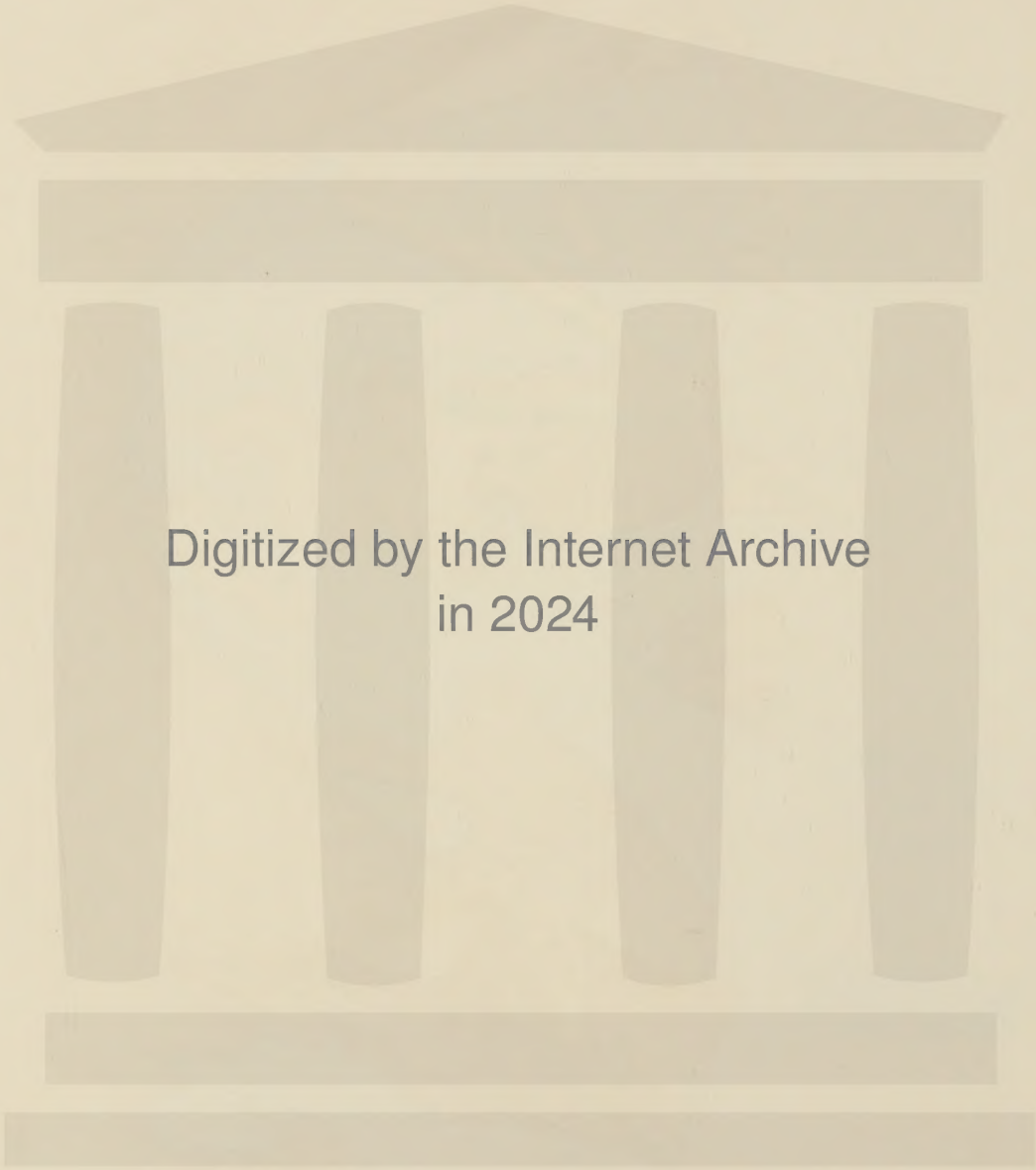
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CARCHEMISH

PART I
INTRODUCTORY

a. CITADEL MOUND FROM THE NORTH-WEST

b. CITADEL MOUND FROM THE NORTH

CARCHEMISH

REPORT ON THE EXCAVATIONS AT DJERABIS ON BEHALF OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM

CONDUCTED BY

C. LEONARD WOOLLEY, M.A.

AND

T. E. LAWRENCE, B.A.

PART I

INTRODUCTORY

BY

D. G. HOGARTH, M.A., F.B.A.

PUBLISHED BY
THE TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM

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SBN 7141 1001 9
First published 1914
Photolithographic reprint 1969

Printed in Great Britain
at the University Press, Oxford, by Vivian Ridler
Printer to the University

PREFACE

The following pages contain a first instalment of the Report which will be issued, in successive parts as the occasion seems to require, of the excavations now being conducted on behalf of the Trustees of the British Museum on the site (as it is believed, with good reason, to be) of Carchemish, the ancient city of the Hittites on the right bank of the Euphrates. What is now published is in no sense a final report on the results achieved up to the present date. The letterpress deals only with preliminary matter, such as the previous history of the site, its name, and the initiation of the present operations. The plates are intended to place in the hands of students, with as little delay as possible, some results of the excavations which are not likely to be materially altered by any subsequent discoveries that may be made. They include, therefore, a selection from such inscriptions as are either complete or beyond hope of completion, and two important series of sculpture. All commentary and description of the excavations are reserved for a future part or parts. It has always been the policy of the Trustees of the British Museum to place their discoveries at the disposal of scholars in general at as early a date as possible, rather than to reserve them for complete working out by their own officers; and such a policy is especially desirable in dealing with so obscure a subject as the history and art of the Hittites, where the materials and provisional suggestions of one group of students may be combined with those of other groups to lead to a satisfactory result.

The present excavations at Carchemish were planned by Sir E. Maunde Thompson, the late Director and Principal Librarian of the British Museum, as the result of a visit paid to the site by Mr. Hogarth on the suggestion of Dr. E. A. W. Budge. The unsettled state of affairs in the East deferred the

actual commencement of operations until after the retirement of Sir E. Maunde Thompson and Mr. Hogarth's appointment to the Keepership of the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. Consequently, although Mr. Hogarth was able to plan and direct the opening excavations, and to revisit the site in 1912 and 1914, he has not been able to undertake the principal conduct of them. During the first season Mr. R. Campbell Thompson was present as Mr. Hogarth's lieutenant, and, with the assistance of Mr. T. E. Lawrence, carried on the work after Mr. Hogarth's return to England. Mr. Thompson was unable to continue his connexion with the work after the first season, and the subsequent campaigns have been conducted by Mr. C. L. Woolley and Mr. T. E. Lawrence, who have co-operated with Mr. Hogarth in the production of this introductory section of the Report.

In conclusion the Trustees have to express their profound gratitude to an anonymous benefactor, whose enlightened liberality has rendered the continuance of these excavations possible. The results, of which a first instalment is now presented to the world, will, it is believed, fully justify the labour and the money that have been expended on them.

FREDERIC G. KENYON.

British Museum,
June 29, 1914.

PREFACE TO REPRINT

The publication of the important excavations at Carchemish has proved to be, as was expected, one of the chief landmarks in the history and archaeology of ancient North Syria and Anatolia alike. The original stocks of Volumes I and II have therefore now become exhausted by the demands of the public, and the Trustees have accordingly authorized their reprinting without change to form this present edition.

R. D. BARNETT
Keeper, Department of
Western Asiatic Antiquities

January 1969.

CHAPTER I

DJERABIS

Djerabis is the name now given popularly to two villages of Arab-speaking folk situated within a mile of one another in a hill-girt plain on the right bank of the Euphrates, about sixty-three miles north-east of Aleppo and fourteen due south of Bir or Biredjik. Another name, Djerablus, is used by the Ottoman administration and by inhabitants of other places, e. g. Aleppo; but, in local parlance, it is confined to the tribe which holds the two villages called Djerabis. Something will be said in a later connexion about these two names and their respective origins and significations.

At the northern extremity of the plain, which has a length of some six miles, a large ancient site, known locally as El-Kala'at, lies on the bank of the Euphrates. It is marked by a horseshoe embankment, pierced by two main gaps. In both, but chiefly in the southernmost, before excavation lay loose blocks among which the lines of gate-structures of late period could be seen. Outside on the south is a broad depression, having the appearance of a silted moat or a soil-pit, which is crossed by two causeways leading to the gaps. The embankment rises very steeply to heights varying from thirty to even fifty feet from this depression. Inside the embankment the general level of the enclosed area, which is about half a mile square, is considerably higher than the level outside. Before excavation, this area was entirely uninhabited, had been cultivated only in a long shallow depression under the face of the embankment on the south-west side, and was littered (especially in the eastern part) with remains of buildings of a comparatively late town.

The line of a colonnaded street could be followed from the southern gap towards the foot of a high citadel mound which rises on the river bank to a height of some hundred and twenty feet above the mean water-level of the Euphrates, and almost fills the riverain space between the two points of the horseshoe. At its south-eastern foot could be seen remains of more massive late structures, rising out of broken ground, than were apparent elsewhere. It seemed as if the Forum of the Romano-Syrian city might have been on this spot. A little farther on, at the foot of the citadel, appeared a half-filled excavation surrounded by spoil-heaps, in and around which lay four sculptured Hittite slabs, whole or in pieces, while a fifth, standing *in situ* on a plinth at the bottom of a trench, was intact, but badly weathered in the upper part. On the sides and eastern summit of the citadel mound appeared many disturbed building blocks, among which were several architectural members of an important structure of late date. Some of these blocks, which show the ornate decoration characteristic of Baalbek, must have survived from a considerable Romano-Syrian temple of the second or

the third century A.D. It seems that on the south-east face the terracing of the mound gave way, and that most of this temple has collapsed in a cataract of blocks.

The very steep northern face of the citadel, formed of natural conglomerate rock for about thirty feet of its height, is bowed out into the Euphrates. The river, coming from the north, here turns east of south after receiving the water of a small stream which descends a valley from the west. After passing the hamlet of Yunus, one mile up, this rivulet throws off a mill-stream on the right, and finally reaches the main river about a hundred yards above the citadel. The mill-stream bears away to the east and passes under, and even along, the line of the north-western part of the horseshoe embankment. This valley and stream protected the site on the north-west. Below the eastern end of the citadel there is a considerable interval before the horn of the horseshoe embankment comes down to the bank. The Euphrates has swung a little away from what was evidently the old river-front of the city at this point, and has left a small tract of alluvium exposed below a revetment of large blocks, which formed a river-wall extending beyond the horseshoe embankment for nearly a quarter of a mile. Before excavation some courses of this wall were visible at intervals, and were most conspicuous at the farther end.

The part of the town which lies east of the main street presented a remarkable appearance. Torrential rains, flooding the area within the walls and forcing a way for their waters to the river, had cut the ground into deep channels, between whose irregular courses ran high mounds and tongues of earth crowned with broken masonry. The whole surface was strangely broken up: there was nothing continuous. At one point might be a few courses of early walling, and close by, but thirty feet below, tumbled fragments of a late building. To the west of the street the ground-level rose gently to the foot of the ramparts, and was marked out into streets and squares by long lines of upright blocks linked by curtain-walls of rubbish; or it sank down to the depression already mentioned which lies just south of the western gate-gap. This depression, which is bare of any trace of building, probably marks an open space, or even, may be, a sacred lake, in the original city. From the western gate-gap a broken line of stones marked a street which seems to have run almost directly for a gap which divides the western from the eastern part of the cidadel, and between this and the few traces of the west wall was more broken ground, littered with loose stones or upright blocks. The latter are building-stones of the Romano-Syrian period, re-used for still later structures of the Byzantine and early Arab periods, abundant traces of which were apparent on the centre and east of the lower city and on the western summit of the citadel.

Some half-dozen Hittite sculptures, besides those already mentioned, were to be seen dispersed over the site, and outside the horseshoe embankment could be traced remains of the causeways which led to the gates, and of late tombs along their course: but except for a column-base lying not far from the embankment on the south, and some sculptured stones beyond the small stream on the west, in or near a modern graveyard, the remains visible outside the horseshoe area were not such as to suggest high antiquity. South of the site the ground rises gradually towards low hills which bound the plain, and about a quarter of a mile up the slope is to be found the smaller village of the two which bear the name Djerabis. Until three years ago it was composed of little more than a *chiftlik*, or farm, with its dependencies: but it has grown considerably, outstripping the other Djerabis in the plain, since

the advent of the Baghdad Railway and the commencement of the construction of a bridge over the Euphrates in 1911.

Such was the superficial aspect of the Kala'at when it was visited by D. G. Hogarth on behalf of the Trustees of the British Museum in 1908. Long before that date it had attracted notice from explorers and would-be excavators: for, when all its features are considered, it is the most imposing ancient site, standing free of modern buildings, in all north Syria. If Tell Basher has a higher and more extensive citadel mound, it has no ring of wall-mounds comparable with those of the Kala'at of Djerabis; nor is its position in the Sajur valley nearly so striking as the latter's on the bank of the Euphrates.

Attention was first called to Djerabis in modern times by Henry Maundrell, sometime Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, and Chaplain to the Factory of the East India and Turkey Companies at Aleppo, who added to the third edition (1714) of his *Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, a short account of another journey, made from Aleppo to Bir, in 1699. He reached Djerabis, which he called *Jerabolus*, on April 20, coming from Mambidj, and remarked the situation of the ancient site, its semicircular form, its high and steep citadel, and the remains of very large pillars and 'caps and cornishes well carved'. At the foot of the citadel he saw 'carved on a large stone a Beast resembling a Lyon with a bridle in his mouth; and I believe anciently a Person sitting on it. But the stone is in that part now broke away: the Tail of the Beast was couped'. Further, he noted 'round about this place high banks cast up, and there is the footsteps of walls on them'. He estimated the circuit at 2,250 paces.

Richard Pococke, who passed the place on his way from Biredjik to Mambidj about a generation later (August 24, 1737),[1] gave a more scientific account of the superficial remains on the site, omitting, however, Maundrell's 'bridled Lyon', which had perhaps been covered up again. Seeing only late remains, he was not greatly impressed, and in his book he compared the site unfavourably with that at Mambidj. He conjectured it to represent the *Gerrhae* of Ptolemy (this place, however, should be distant some fifty miles at least down stream). Hearing the site called *Jerabees*, he thought this name, like that of Gerrhae, must be connected with 'the Sun-god Jerabolus'. It is probable, therefore, that on the spot he heard also the form Djerablus.

Maundrell and Pococke between them, in any case, attest long usage for both modern names of the place: and as a matter of fact there is reason to believe one of these to be of older date than either of these travellers; for Yāḳūt, in his *Geographical Dictionary* (ii. 688), mentions *Djirbas* as being on the Syrian bank of the Euphrates, opposite Dair Kinnisri, which he reckoned to be four *farsahs* from Mambidj. Whether Djerablus is an old name, and how it may have arisen, will be discussed later. *Yerablus* (with initial *y* sound) is unknown now in the locality, and was probably never in use. Buckingham, who wrote the name 'Yerabolus' in 1827, found the people of Biredjik ignorant of the place when so called—'I made many inquiries here after the ruins of Hierapolis, now called Yerabolus, but no one knew of such a place, though it is certainly less than a short day's journey from this town.'[2] Viscount Pollington, afterwards fourth Earl of

[1] *Description of the East*, ii, p. 164.

[2] *Travels in Mesopotamia*, p. 31.

Mexborough ('Methley' in Kinglake's *Eothen*), also wrote 'Yerabolus' in 1838, though he had actually visited the place[1]; but (like Buckingham) he makes it appear that he was consciously assimilating the name to Hierapolis. In all probability he had not got the local designation from native mouths. Members of the British Euphrates Expedition of 1834, F. R. Chesney, W. F. Ainsworth, and J. W. Helfer, who mentioned the place in their books, all used the

Fig. 1. Drummond's Sketch-map 1754.

form Djerablus, though they spelled the name variously, and Ainsworth regarded it as corrupt. George Smith evidently heard 'Yaraboloos' in Aleppo (probably from Mr. Consul Skene), and wrote the name so in his Diary[2] on his first visit to the site; but after his return a few days later, he always wrote 'Jerabis'.

It is not necessary to enumerate here every visitor to the site previous to its definitive exploration; but an exception should be made in favour of Alexander Drummond, sometime British Consul at Aleppo (who published in 1754 his *Travels .... as far as the Banks of the Euphrates*), because he was the first traveller to show a plan of 'Jerabolus' (Fig. 1), as he

[1] *Journ. Roy. Geog. Soc.*, x, p. 453.

[2] Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 30,425, vol. 29.

named it, and also the first to reproduce a Hittite relief from the site. He believed this stone, however, to be 'the tomb of some dignified Christian clergyman in his sacerdotal vestments'.[1] Drummond's drawing is as odd as his interpretation of it. What he saw was in reality the broken semi-columnar stela, bearing the figure of a goddess, which was brought to the British Museum in 1881 (Figs. 2, 3). It is clearly to be recognized in spite of the faults of Drummond's sketch,

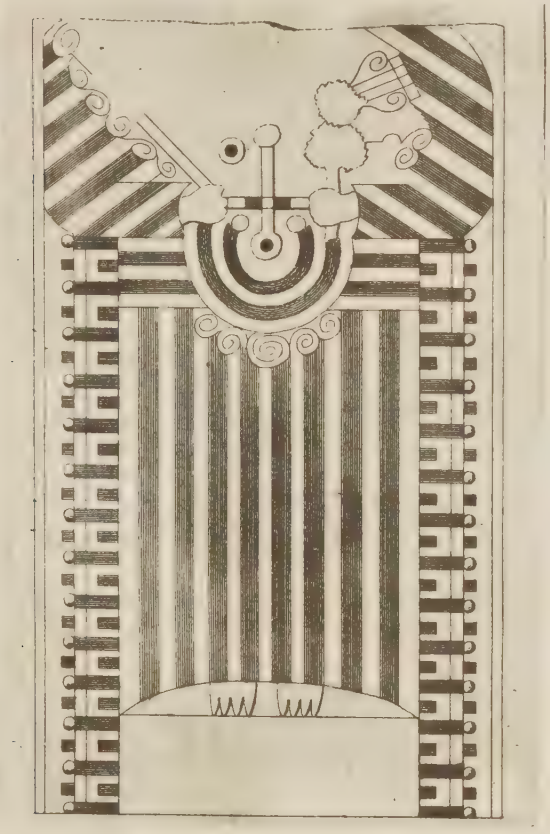


Fig. 2. Drummond's Sketch of a Hittite Relief.

Fig. 3. The same Relief now in the British Museum.

some of which, no doubt, may be put down to his engraver. On the convex back of the stela is a long inscription whose existence remained unknown till George Smith, visiting the site in 1876, had the stone turned over and made careful copies. Drummond reproduced also a piece of cornice inscribed with Greek letters, which has reappeared in the course of the recent excavations.

None of these early travellers (nor indeed any one else of their time, and for a generation after the latest of them) showed any sense of the high antiquity and the archaeological importance of the site. Discussing the possible position of Carchemish, both Maspero in 1872 and Nöldeke

[1] *Travels*, p. 209 and illustration no. 15, facing p. 197.

in 1876 ignored Djerabis. But it appears that by the opening of the latter year, if not earlier, George Smith of the British Museum, who had been sent out to prospect sites in West Asia with a view to possible excavations, and Consul W. H. Skene of Aleppo, who had drawn Smith's attention to Djerabis, agreed that the site must be that of Carchemish.[1] On his first visit to Djerabis, Smith entered in his diary (March 24, 1876): 'Grand site: vast walls and palace mounds: 8,000 feet round: many sculptures and monoliths with inscriptions: site of Karchemish.' Re-visiting the place on March 31, after a flying trip to Aleppo, he made pencil-sketches of all the sculptures which he could see above ground, and copied one long Hittite inscription: but he recorded that he failed to make a cast, or to saw off the face, of a monument for transport (he seems to have procured materials for casting and a saw in Aleppo, presumably in order to try his hand on the semi-columnar stela, now in the British Museum, to copying which he devoted much time during his visit).[2] Smith then proceeded to Baghdad and Mosul. Returning through Biredjik he fell seriously ill and had to halt at the village of Ikisdjah. His servant, who had posted forward to get help, returned on August 13th with Mr. Parsons, a dentist in practice at Aleppo. Between them, travelling by night, they brought the sick man in a litter two short stages farther on his way. But after reaching Tchoban Bey (in the Diary, 'Chibombek'), on the morning of August 16th, Smith collapsed, and, being unable to take such food as could be procured, died on the 19th. The British Museum preserves the note-book in which, while at Ikisdjah, failing and alone, he entered his hopes and fears for the result of his illness. Though craving for better food and bearing hardly the noise made around him by his Turkman hosts ('kind after their fashion'), he was still able to make a sketch of his lodging and a few notes on ancient history and chronology; and the dying man continued to write brief pencilled entries up to his arrival at Tchoban Bey. The note-book contains also, written in ink by another hand (probably by Parsons at Smith's dictation), a short valedictory message, part of which, already printed by F. Delitzsch in his book, *Wo lag das Paradies?* (p. 266), may here be quoted again to the honour of the discoverer of Carchemish: 'My work has been entirely for the science I study. I hope the friends protect my family . . . . . There is a large field of study in my collection. I intended to work it out, but desire now that my antiquities and notes may be thrown open to all students. I have done my duty thoroughly. I do not fear the change.'

His body was brought to Aleppo and laid in the part of the Christian cemetery which had formerly been reserved for the Turkey Company. The Trustees of the British Museum sent out a gravestone and paid for the enclosure of the cemetery.

In the sketch-book used by Smith on his last journey are two views of the Citadel mound at Djerabis, pencil-drawings of certain monuments, and some further notes. The last do not add to our knowledge, but assure us that Smith noticed all the main features of the site.

[1] A claim for priority put forward on behalf of Felice Finzi, by the late Joachim Menant in his article 'Kar-Kemish' (*Mem. Acad. Inscr.*, XXXII, pt. 2, p. 204), is not borne out by the passages in the former's *Ricerche, &c.* (pp. 257, 260), which are cited. It is clear that by 'Jerapoli' Finzi meant Mambidj, and that he was not considering the site at Djerabis at all. That Skene had been actually the first to identify the latter site with Carchemish was claimed in a letter published in *The Times* on August 23, 1876 (four days after Smith's death) by Mr. Parsons of Aleppo. It is certainly true that Skene was the first to call attention to the analogy between the monuments existing at Djerabis and the Hittite stones of Hamah and Aleppo.

[2] See p. 7, below.

Besides nine sketches of worked stones of a late period (fragments of cornice, a pilaster, &c.), and also a table of Hittite characters compiled from the one long inscription which Smith saw, his drawings include the following Hittite sculptures:

1. Slab, 'about 4 feet' long, showing forelegs and one hind foot of a bull.

   This has been re-found near the Water-Gate by the present excavators.

2. Slab, '6 feet long', showing upper part of a winged lion to left.[1]

   This is *in situ* on the east side of the Water-Gate and has now been cleared.

3. Slab showing upper half of a human figure with upraised arms.

   This is *in situ* to the right of no. 2 and has now been cleared. The figure has bull's legs.

4. Slab, '8 feet long', showing upper part of a scene of sacrifice to a bull (really two bulls), standing to left.

   This is *in situ* to the right of no. 3 and has now been cleared.

5. Slab, '10 feet long', showing upper parts of two figures to right, of which the leader is winged, and traces of Hittite symbols near the head of the second figure.

   This is the great 'Lion Slab' *in situ* on its plinth at the east foot of the Staircase. It was cleared by Henderson in 1879, but not removed in spite of an urgent appeal included by St. C. Boscawen in his report, made for Henderson early in 1880, and sent to the Trustees of the British Museum on March 17th. The weight proved far too great for the means of transport available.

6. Slab, '$7\frac{1}{2}$ feet long', showing upper parts of two figures to right, the leader wielding an axe, the follower bearing cup (?) and mirror.

   The lower part of this slab, buried during Smith's visit, was cleared by Henderson and is *in situ* on the west side of the Staircase. The upper part, drawn by Smith, was smashed by a miller after his visit, but fragments of the right-hand half have been recovered by the present excavators, and replaced in position. If the fragments of the left-hand upper half were carried off by the miller and should never be recovered, Smith's sketch will remain our only authority for the head of the second figure.

7. Slab, '2 feet 8 long', showing a goat with depressed head moving to left.

   This is said wrongly by native tradition to have been removed with the monuments shipped in 1879. Henderson reported it,[2] proposing its transport, but in the end left it on the site. Its present whereabouts is not known.

8. Stela, '5 feet 6 long, 2 feet 6 in.', showing a headless draped figure to front. Smith adds 'Inscription on back', and proceeds on p. 17 of his sketch-book to give a complete copy of the text visible in two broken upper panels and three fairly complete below. This

[1] This sculpture, which has been exposed for centuries, is Maundrell's 'Lyon with a bridle in his mouth' (see above, p. 3).

[2] Letter to Dr. Birch, October 26, 1879.

copy he repeated on a larger scale and with more attention to detail on subsequent pages (21–24), and from it he compiled his list of Hittite characters.

This is the stela, one side of which had been seen by Drummond more than a century previously (see above, p. 5), when it was lying as Smith found it. The latter had it turned over and discovered the inscription. It was extricated by Henderson,[1] and transported with enormous labour and at great cost to Alexandretta, fourteen months being spent on the road. It is now in the British Museum, marked 'Jerabis, no. 2'. The inscription was published by W. H. Rylands in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. vii, as 'Jerabis III'. Smith's copy shows two or three characters at the top on the left which are not now to be seen on the stone. Probably the monument was slightly chipped in transport. Smith's drawing of the figure is much more correct than Drummond's. Messerschmidt also published a drawing, made from a paper impression, in *Mitteil. d. Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1900, pt. 5, pl. xi.

9. 'Fragments of a colossus.'

These are two small fragments recovered from the neighbourhood of the Water-Gate by the present excavators.

10. Slab, '32 inch long', showing lower part of the legs of a figure to right.

This has been recovered from the neighbourhood of the Staircase by the present excavators.

Thus it appears that there was much evidence in 1876 to support Smith's view of Djerabis as a most important Hittite site; that the subsequent excavators had much to guide them in putting in their first trenches; and that they eventually elected to leave a good deal behind when their work was over. They sent to London only one of the ten monuments seen by Smith. It should be added that Smith did not see all the inscribed or sculptured stones which were, in all likelihood, visible on the site at the time of his visit; for several more have been found by the present excavators which appear, from the condition of their faces, to have been exposed to the weather for very many years.

The upshot of the representations made by Skene and Smith was a definite project for excavation at Djerabis at the cost of the Trustees of the British Museum. Before, however, any work could be put in hand, Skene's term at Aleppo came to an end, and it devolved on his successor, P. Henderson, to take the preliminary steps and organize the expedition which eventually was sent. Having accepted the charge while still at Benghazi (December, 1877), Henderson took up the matter in the spring of 1878, but could do nothing till Layard prevailed on the Porte to grant a firman, news of which reached Aleppo early in September. He then went for the first time to Djerabis, and after viewing the Kala'at, made overtures for its purchase to one Hussein Mahli, to whom shortly before had been granted a *tapu*, or title-deed, for the area within the wall-mounds (previously common grazing-land) by commissioners charged to carry out a new scheme of registration of real estate throughout the Ottoman Empire. Negotiation proved, however, a lengthy matter. After coming to terms with Hussein

[1] Letter to the Trustees, December 9, 1878.

Mahli, Henderson was deterred by difficulties with the local Government, and it was not till March 1, 1880, after excavation had been in progress more than a year, that he was able to report that Hussein Mahli had transferred to him one undefined quarter of the Kala'at. A new *tapu* was subsequently granted to Henderson and registered at Biredjik.

Excavations were begun on December 17, 1878, and carried on intermittently till the summer of 1881.[1] Henderson never succeeded in arranging with London for the appointment of a European superintendent. It was proposed more than once that Rassam, Layard's assistant,[2] should take charge, but the suggestion was not agreeable to Henderson, and counter-proposals made by the latter did not commend themselves to the authorities of the British Museum. In the event, the practical management was left in the hands of one Shallum, a dependant of the Consulate, Henderson himself paying brief visits at intervals, when there were monuments to remove. Twenty workmen began the excavation near the south-east foot of the citadel, where the half-buried sculptures, sketched by Smith in 1876, attracted Henderson's attention. They lighted at once on the ruins of a broad staircase with low easy steps, ascending towards the citadel; it proved to have been bordered by sculptures, accompanied by inscriptions, which were either still in position or lying near their original places. Six large stones and several fragments were selected as worth transport to England, brought down to Aleppo in February, 1879, and dispatched from Alexandretta in the late spring. No pains were taken to collect the smaller fragments of monuments thus abstracted; many were thrown away on to the spoil-heaps, and the feet of two broken figures, now in the British Museum, were left *in situ*. The workmen proceeded to follow up the staircase, breaking through the topmost steps, and then to probe the Citadel mound above. A heading was driven also into the north-western end of the mound. Henderson reported in February, 1879, that this had not advanced far, but had proved the mound to be artificial. It was soon abandoned, and the men were transferred to the foot of the staircase. The monument on its west side, sketched by Smith (his no. 6), was cleared, and thus the lower parts of the two figures were revealed. Continuing southward, the men cleared two more slabs, one of dolerite much broken, which showed the legs of a figure moving to right, the other of limestone, practically entire, but cracked and rotten with fire, which showed a nude, winged goddess, and a seated figure with Hittite relief inscription near the head. This slab Henderson tried to remove when he was at Djerabis in February, 1880, but it collapsed in three pieces at the bottom of the trench which had been dug below it. As for the broken basalt slab to right of this, it was still in position in 1880, when St. C. Boscawen visited the site, as his sketch in the *Graphic* of December 11 shows. Nor had it fallen as late as 1885, when the American 'Wolfe Expedition' passed through Djerabis, and took the photograph published by Hayes Ward in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, iv, pl. IX; but at some later date it fell, or was thrown down.

Meanwhile, in the spring of 1879, Lieutenant (now General Sir Herbert) Chermside, who was serving on a Commission for delimiting the Asiatic frontiers of Turkey, and was about to become a Military Vice-Consul in Anatolia, had been instructed to make a survey of the site

[1] The last report to the Trustees, sent by Mr. L. Dickson, acting for Henderson in absence, is dated July 30, 1881.

[2] Rassam was actually commissioned by Layard, in May, 1879, to excavate at Djerabis; but nothing came of it. Henderson protested then, and again in March, 1880, that he would not work with Rassam. For short periods, at one time and another, Captain Lovett Cameron, Mr. St. C. Boscawen, and Mr. L. Dickson appear to have directed operations.

and an estimate of the cost of its thorough exploration. His sketch-map, a very accurate and well-executed piece of work, which shows the position of Henderson's trenches up to April, 1879, has been preserved in the archives of the British Museum, and is reproduced here (Fig. 4). The excavations, however, when resumed in the autumn of that year, proved less remunerative than before, and seem to have been restricted thenceforward to little except sporadic attempts to light upon more monuments. In October, Henderson reported his intention to bring down to Aleppo three sculptures, revealed in the past spring season. These were a 'winged figure', a 'gazelle in low relief', and 'the stone seen by the late Mr. Smith'. Of these, the 'gazelle' was one of the sculptures sketched by Smith (his no. 7): it was not removed by Henderson, and has disappeared. The 'winged figure' seems to have been the finely sculptured dolerite slab which was ultimately photographed by the 'American Wolfe Expedition' in 1885 (*Amer. Journal of Archaeology*, 1888, iv, p. 173, and pl. VIII), and is reproduced in Messerschmidt's *Hittites* (p. 49, fig. 9). It had, apparently, been found in 1878 lying on its face at the foot of the staircase. Unfortunately, in the event, this stone too was not removed, Henderson being deterred by the expense and trouble to which he had been put by another monument to be mentioned presently. The Americans six years later found it face upwards, and after photographing it, turned it over: but a local miller at some subsequent period attacked it (and probably also the goat-relief) with his hammer, and when D. G. Hogarth arrived in 1908, he could find only the lower half, broken into two pieces. This he republished in the *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology*, vol. ii, plate xxxv. 2.

The third monument was almost certainly the great slab, showing a crouching lion supporting two figures, which is still *in situ* at the eastern foot of the staircase. Henderson had sent (or proposed to send) marble-masons from Aleppo to saw this slab; but the operation was never effected. He also had a trench dug to the river to facilitate transport (proposing to float the slab on a raft to Basra), but in the end fortunately he realized that, with the means at his disposal, he could not hope to move it.

A fourth monument, however, the semi-columnar inscribed stela, to which Smith had paid so much attention (said to have been found on the north-west end of the citadel), was transported to Aleppo in 1880, despite its great weight. It was dispatched thence towards Alexandretta by bullock-cart, but stuck about half-way for many months. Captain Tryon, of H.M.S. *Monarch*, who had been ordered to ship it, did not see his way to help in extricating it and transporting it farther, since the operation demanded the strengthening of bridges and some road-making in the Beilan Pass. Finally, when the ground had hardened in the spring of 1881, Henderson solved the difficulty at considerable cost, and the stone is now in London.

For the rest, it is difficult, when one sees the site now, to guess on what work Henderson's men were employed in 1880 and 1881. There is very little to show. In making the trench from the great slab towards the river, his men found two headless lions of dolerite in what we now know to have been the ruins of the Water-Gate; but they were abandoned on the river bank. A large trench or pit to the west of the stairway was also made, but nothing was found. On the whole, it is not surprising that the Trustees of the British Museum did not encourage the continuation of Henderson's researches after July, 1881.

The only record of this first excavation ever published was a short article which W. St. Chad Boscawen contributed, together with sketches of monuments and rough plans, to the *Graphic*,

Sketch of supposed site of
CARCHEMISH
(Locally called Jerabulus)
by Herbert Chermside, Lt.R.E 1879.
EUPHRATES
True North
Masonry
Line of outer rampart, just discernible, masonry in places.
Excavations
Heights in feet above Euphrates on May 4. 1879.
River about 2 ft below best defined waterline.
Scale of Yards
100 50 0 100 200 300

Fig. 4. Chermside's Sketch-map 1879.

December 11, 1880. Extracts from this article, together with drawings of some of the sculptures found, were given by Perrot and Chipiez in their *History of Art in Sardinia*, &c. (Eng. transl., ii, pp. 279 ff.). Photographs of some of the sculptures not removed were published by Hayes Ward in 1888, and by D. G. Hogarth in 1909 in *Amer. Journal of Archaeology*, iv, p. 172, pl. VIII–IX, and *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology*, &c., ii, pp. 169 ff., and pl. XXXV, XXXVI respectively. The inscriptions brought to London were edited by W. H. Rylands in *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vii, p. 3, and in W. Wright's *Empire of the Hittites* (1884, pp. 143 ff. and plates); and they were republished after revision of some of the stones, and with the addition of the inscription on the limestone 'Naked Goddess' slab, which had been left on the site, by L. Messerschmidt in his *Corpus Inscriptionum Hettiticarum* (*Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1900, pts. 4, 5, and 1902, pt. 3).

After this imperfect exploration the site was deserted again for thirty years, but did not escape damage in the interval. While mending a little water-course, which runs under the north face of the citadel and along the line of the river-wall of the city, the peasants smashed the two colossal lions of basalt left by Shallum on the bank. The fate, which had befallen the Naked Goddess slab, the dolerite slab on the right of it, and the 'Winged Figure', has been already told. The miller, at an unknown date, broke in half an inscribed column-drum of basalt, and carried off one piece to his mill. This fragment, with much of its inscribed surface worn away, was rescued by the British Museum Expedition in 1911; further fragments of it were found in subsequent seasons, and the whole inscription, as far as it can be recovered, is reproduced here on pl. A. 4. *a*. Stories are told also of a gateway, the jambs, formed of human-headed bulls or lions, having the lintel still resting upon them, which stood half-buried in soil upon the south-east slope of the citadel as late as twelve years ago. No trace of this monument can now be seen.

In the autumn of 1907, Sir E. Maunde Thompson, Director of the British Museum, who had discussed with Dr. Wallis Budge, Keeper of the Department of Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities, his projects for the further encouragement of Hittite research, proposed to D. G. Hogarth that the latter should prospect Djerabis and other neighbouring sites with a view to excavation. Accordingly, in the spring of 1908 Hogarth proceeded to Syria, and, taking Djerabis as his first objective, reached it on March 20. He examined the site in all parts, and made a sketch-survey. After visiting subsequently other notable sites in the district, e.g. Tell Basher and Tell Ahmar, he reported that Djerabis, despite the previous exploration, and the damage done to its monuments at various times, both contained more than the other sites and represented a more important Hittite centre. On receipt of his report, the Trustees of the British Museum applied to the Ottoman Government for permission to resume excavation in the field of their former enterprise. The permission, however, was not granted till the spring of 1910, owing to events which disturbed the Ottoman Empire in the summer of 1908 and again in 1909; and it was not until the early spring of 1911 that the digging-party actually left England. Composed of D. G. Hogarth, R. C. Thompson, and T. E. Lawrence, with Gregori Antoniou as foreman, it reached Djerabis early in March, and began the work. Hogarth subsequently passed on the direction to Thompson, who, however, resigned it after the first season, and was replaced by C. L. Woolley. The latter, with the help of T. E. Lawrence, has directed the excavations in all subsequent seasons.

CHAPTER II

CARCHEMISH

THE object of this chapter is to set forth reasons (apart from evidence furnished by excavation) for identifying the Kala'at site with Carchemish. This object will entail a review of ancient references to that city, a discussion of the identity of the town or towns which occupied the Kala'at after the Hittite period, and some consideration of modern names which may throw light on nomenclature at earlier epochs.

The suggestion that the remains at Djerabis represent Carchemish was made first (as has been stated in the preceding chapter) by Consul W. H. Skene of Aleppo and by George Smith of the British Museum, before the latter had visited the site itself.[1] From the time of the learned Jew, Benjamin of Tudela,[2] till about 1870, Carchemish was usually identified with Circesium, which occupied a site by the Khabur estuary on the left bank of the Euphrates. Less usually it was placed either at Biredjik (as by Hincks in 1862) or at Mambidj, the latter suggestion having the support of the Syriac Version of the Old Testament, which, in 2 Chron. xxxv. 20, renders Carchemish by Mabôg.[3]

This was the view held by Felice Finzi[4] in 1870, and by Gaston Maspero in 1872. The last named, who discussed the question at length,[5] had no difficulty in showing that Egyptian and Assyrian evidence rendered any position on the Mesopotamian bank of the Euphrates inacceptable for Carchemish, and that the site could not be so far down stream as the Khabur mouth. Therefore Bir and Circesium (the last, as *Karkis*, is distinguished in Egyptian records from Carchemish) were equally ruled out of court. Since, however, Maspero had not recognized that the same authorities tell strongly for a riverain site, Nöldeke, writing in 1876,[6] rejected Mambidj, which lies about fifteen miles from the nearest point on the Euphrates, and proposed Kalat en-Nejm, which is some twenty miles due east of Mambidj on the river bank.

Even after Smith's identification became known, doubts were still expressed. In 1884, Sir Charles Wilson, a learned and careful observer, who had visited both Djerabis and Mambidj, wrote in *Palestine Fund Quarterly Statement* (p. 49), 'Jerablus is generally identified with Carchemish; but unless a distinct statement is found in the Assyrian inscriptions that that city was on the Euphrates, I would place it at Membij', and in 1886 Maspero was still

[1] See p. 6 above and note. W. St. C. Boscawen said in the *Graphic*, December 11, 1880 (p. 582), that in 1874 Skene and Smith 'agreed in identifying them (i.e. the ruins at Djerabis) with Carchemish'. Since Smith began travelling in the East in 1873, Boscawen's statement may well be correct.

[2] p. 53, tr. Adler, p. 34.

[3] It also interpolates Mabôg in 2 Kings xxiii. 29. See below, p. 18.

[4] See note, p. 6, above.

[5] *De Carchemis oppidi situ et historia antiquissima.*

[6] *Gött. Nachr.*, xxvi, 1.

adhering to his old opinion.[1] Therefore, though Fr. Delitzsch had adopted Smith's suggestion in his treatise *Wo lag das Paradies?* (1881), Joachim Menant[2] still thought it worth while, ten years later, to plead at length for Smith's view. Djerabis was accepted by W. Max Müller in his *Asien und Europa*,[3] published in 1893, and now holds the field. There is still, however, no positive proof. Egyptian and Assyrian records, while creating by cumulative evidence the strongest presumption in favour of Djerabis, do not supply sufficiently precise data to fix Carchemish to one site and one only, and no inscription, which has been found at Djerabis and can be interpreted with certainty, mentions the name.[4]

Before George Smith, all who speculated about the ancient name of Djerabis had decided either for *Hierapolis* or for *Europus*, with the single exception of Pococke (the first to propose any identification at all) who suggested *Gerrhae*.[5] The site was not regarded by its earlier visitors as that of a town earlier than the Seleucid or the Roman period. Among the numerous and obvious late ruins which strewed the Kala'at, Hittite remains were not recognized before Skene's observation of them in 1874.

Since the adjectival form 'Karkamisû' occurs on Babylonian tablets of the First Dynasty,[6] we are assured that Carchemish existed as a city at least as early as 2000 B.C. In a historic connexion, however, its name first occurs in an Egyptian reference to the eighth campaign of Thothmes III (*circa* 1470 B.C.). Its neighbourhood (though perhaps not the city itself) was reached, as we learn from the funerary inscription of the captain Amenemheb, by an Egyptian detachment, which brought away a few prisoners. Whether it was visited also at that time by Pharaoh himself, and if, after his demonstration of crossing the Euphrates, it was the place at which he received an embassy and tribute from the 'Great Kheta', we are not informed. Still less do we know whether it had been previously visited by Thothmes I, the earliest Pharaoh who appears to have reached the Euphrates.

Two inferences of importance about the city can be drawn from the account of Thothmes III's first expedition into farthest Syria. Firstly, Carchemish was not regarded then as a city of the Kheta. This people was understood to be domiciled at some distance to the north, and its embassy came from afar, in 1470, to meet Pharaoh on the Euphrates. Secondly, since the Egyptian forces reached the neighbourhood of Carchemish from Aleppo, after pursuing a northerly course,[7] it is practically certain that the former town cannot have been anywhere in the neighbourhood of Circesium, which was situated east-south-east of Aleppo, on quite another road, and at

[1] *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient classique*, p. 180, note; in his *Struggle of the Nations* (Eng. trans., 1896, p. 145, note), however, Maspero accepted Djerabis 'with all reserve'.

[2] loc. cit., p. 6, above.

[3] p. 263.

[4] We intend hereby to exclude from the present consideration the readings of the name Carchemish in Hittite inscriptions of Djerabis which Six and Sayce on the one hand, and Campbell Thompson on the other, have proposed, since these readings, being guesses based on the assumption that Djerabis *is* Carchemish, offer only a circular argument. In any case, if Six and Sayce are right, Thompson is wrong, or *vice versa*.

[5] See above, p. 3.

[6] See L. W. King, below, p. 17.

[7] The record expressly states that the king went north after Aleppo.

such a distance that we should expect more than one intermediate stage to have been mentioned in the Egyptian records.

Under Amenhetep III we find (at Soleb) the city figured among Pharaoh's subjects; but when it had been actually occupied by the Egyptians (if at all) is unknown. Its name does not occur in the Amarna archives (end of the fifteenth and beginning of the fourteenth centuries B.C.); but about a century later it obtained mention in an inscription of Adad-nirari II, lately found at Asshur. The Assyrian king records a raid carried out across the territory of Harran as far as *Gargamis* on the banks of the Euphrates. His successor, Shalmaneser I, also makes a similar record.[1] In these two texts Carchemish appears as a well-known point marking the western limit of Assyrian activities; but, since no crossing of the Euphrates is mentioned, it is not likely that the armies either of Adad-nirari or of Shalmaneser assaulted the city. Later Assyrian records (e.g. one of Tiglath-pileser I) indicate that it held lands and forts on the Mesopotamian bank.

Although the city is not mentioned expressly in the Boghaz Keui archives of the time of Subbiluliuma (so far as they have been published), these and references to inroads from the north into Upper Syria contained in the Amarna correspondence make it virtually certain that, long before the close of the fourteenth century, Carchemish had passed under the suzerainty of the Cappadocian Hatti. In the Egyptian record of the battle of Kadesh (1280) its name stands sixth in the list of the allies of the King of the Kheta. It should be noted, however, that it does not occur in the treaty subsequently made by Rameses with Hattusil II, though the gods of other cities of Syria, as well as of Asia Minor, are invoked to witness the pact. This omission is worth attention, because the supposed peculiar sanctity of Carchemish has been insisted upon by Menant and others in support of a theory that the holy city Hierapolis, which in Hellenistic and Roman times was on the site known anciently as Mabôg and now as Mambidj, had originally been Carchemish itself. The non-appearance of Carchemish in the Hattusil treaty, to which it can hardly have failed to be party, does not suggest that it was the local centre of any distinctive or national cult.

Down to the end of the thirteenth century, Carchemish remained under Hatti suzerainty. In the solitary mention of the place in the Boghaz Keui archives, its name appears among the vassals of King Dudhalia. It was then (shortly before 1200) ruled directly by a king whose name may be read Eni-Teshup, or Eni-Sandan, the last part being formed by a single determinative signifying the chief god of the Hatti, whose actual name is in doubt.

Not long after the probable date of that edict, there swept over Syria a horde of northern invaders which ultimately came into conflict with the forces of Rameses III on the frontier of Egypt itself. His record tells us that, among other peoples and cities which were wasted by the invaders, was Carchemish.[2] About half a century later came a second swarm led this time by the Mushkaya, who crossed over into Mesopotamia and abode there till near the end of the century. About 1107, Tiglath-pileser I revived the Assyrian power and came

[1] See Messerschmidt, *Keilschr. aus Assur*, i, in *Wiss. Veröffentlichungen d. D. O. G.*, xvi, 1911; and translation by Luckenbill in *Amer. Journ. Sem. Lit.*, xxviii, pp. 184 ff.

[2] Its name subsequently occurs among Rameses III's tributaries, and it may have sent its submission when that Pharaoh advanced northwards after defeating the horde. But, since the Medinet Habu list seems to be copied from lists of Rameses II, no reliance can be placed on it for historical facts.

west, drove the Mushkaya before him, defeated men of Carchemish on the eastern bank of the Euphrates (this statement shows that the city then held territory across the river), and, ferrying his army over, invaded Syria as far as Mt. Beshri, which is usually identified with the district of Tell Basher, in the upper valley of the Sajur. Tiglath-pileser does not record, however, that he took or even attacked the city Carchemish itself.[1]

After this notice, ancient references to the city fail for two centuries. It occurs no more in Egyptian annals (though another Pharaoh would reach it about five hundred years later), and the Assyrian records, which are very scanty all through the period of decline following the death of Tiglath-pileser I, are silent about the place. They had, indeed, no occasion to mention it until the Assyrian Empire once more expanded westwards under Ashur-naṣir-pal. In the spring of 877 that 'Great King' marched to the Euphrates to demand and obtain substantial recognition of his suzerainty from the then king of Carchemish, Sangara.[2] This prince, or at least one of the same name, was still on the throne when Shalmaneser II, Ashur-naṣir-pal's successor, after making seven expeditions into Syria, was prompted by an organized revolt, in which Sangara was implicated, to attack the latter directly (850 B.C.). He records the capture of a great number of cities and forts from the 'Carchemishian', and the acquisition of a rich booty; but he does not say explicitly that he took Sangara's capital. Since, however, representations of the receipt of Sangara's tribute and of Carchemish itself are chased on the bronze gates of Balawat, it is probable that the Assyrian forces did enter the city. Possibly a number of the other forts then taken and sacked lay in the trans-Euphratean territory of Carchemish; for the war against Sangara had grown out of the revolt of Bit-Adini in Mesopotamia, which was ended by the definitive occupation of Til-Barsip. From the site of this town, which has been fixed at Tell Ahmar, the citadel of Carchemish is so conspicuous an object as one looks up stream across the flats, that it is not surprising to find the two cities coupled in a record of Shalmaneser's successor, Shamshi-Adad. Til-Barsip, under its new Assyrian name Kar-Shulman-asharid, is there said to be 'over against' (or 'on the way to') Carchemish.

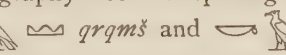
In 827, Sangara had once more to render heavy blackmail,[3] but whether he or his successors paid regular yearly tribute we do not know. No further records of special levies on Carchemish by the Assyrian kings occur in our authorities till the eighth year of Tiglath-pileser IV (738 B.C.),[4] when one Pisiris was ruling the city. This prince was to be the last of his line. Sixteen years later, when Sargon seized the Assyrian throne, the north Syrian princes, relying on Mita, king of the Cappadocian Mushkaya, took advantage of the confusion incident to a change of dynasty to assert independence. Sargon, however, quickly established his throne and came west to deal drastically with Mita, and then fall on the allies. The turn of Pisiris came in the fifth campaign (717 B.C.). He was attacked in his capital city itself, and, on its capture, taken prisoner to Assyria. The Nimrud inscription of Sargon gives a list of the rich booty made in the sack,[5] and his Cylinder Inscription[6] states that Assyrian officials then and there took over the government. In 692 B.C. a *šaknu* (governor)

[1] *Keilinschr. Bibl.*, i, p. 32 f.
[2] *K. B.*, i, p. 106, l. 65.
[3] *K. B.*, i, p. 171.
[4] Nimrud tablet in *K. B.*, ii, p. 31.
[5] Winckler, *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, i, p. 172 f.
[6] *K. B.*, iii, p. 38 f., l. 10; cf. also Annals, l. 50 (Winckler, *op. cit.*, p. 10 f.).

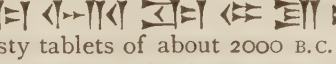
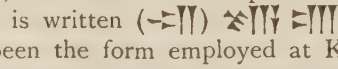
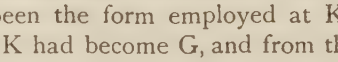
of Carchemish appears in the Eponym list. It is probably to this change in the city's position that reference is made in the earliest passage of the Hebrew Scriptures which mentions Carchemish.[1]

Were it not for the Old Testament we should have no further knowledge of the place from external sources. A reference by Jeremiah (xlvi. 2), however, informs us that the decisive battle by which, in 604 B.C., Nebuchadnezzar II put an end to the dominion imposed on Syria five years before by Pharaoh Necho, was fought at Carchemish. ('The army of Pharaoh-necho king of Egypt, which was by the river Euphrates in Carchemish, which Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon smote.') Two other passages, 2 Chron. xxxv. 20 ('Necho king of Egypt came up to fight against Charchemish by Euphrates') and 1 Esdras i. 25 ('Pharaoh the king of Egypt came to raise war at Charchemish upon Euphrates'), can be interpreted, in the light of Jeremiah's statement, as attesting the fact that the decisive action of the campaign did actually take place at Carchemish. Till late in the seventh century the place had remained, presumably, under the direct Assyrian government set up by Sargon, but doubtless it had resumed independence after Ashur-bani-pal's death (625) and been occupied by Necho in 609. If words used in 2 Chron. xxxv. 20 are pressed, the city may be presumed to have revolted subsequently and to have thrown in its lot with the Babylonian kingdom. Whether Necho had re-occupied it before Nebuchadnezzar arrived to its help and whether it survived the conflict of which it then became the scene, external evidence does not tell us. Its name appears no more in our authorities.

About the form under which the name Carchemish appears in Egyptian script, Mr. F. Ll. Griffith writes as follows:

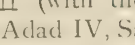
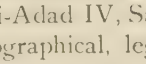
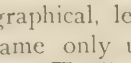
'The forms assumed by the name of Carchemish in Egyptian inscriptions and papyri have been collected by W. Max Müller in his *Asien und Europa nach altägyptischen Denkmälern*, 1893, p. 263, and by M. Burchardt in *Die altkanaanäischen Fremdwörter und Eigennamen im Aegyptischen*, ii, nos. 926, 1019. The examples range from the time of Tuthmosis III in the Eighteenth Dynasty to that of Rameses III in the Twentieth, and are all written in the so-called syllabic orthography used in spelling foreign words. There are two leading forms,  *qrqmš* and *krkmš*, showing an uncommon variation of (*k*, כ) with (*q*, ק), which may be due to differences of pronunciation in the neighbouring lands.'

Concerning the cuneiform renderings, Mr. L. W. King has communicated the following:

'The Old-Babylonian form of the name was *Karkamis*, which may be deduced from the adjectival form  , *Ka-ar-ka-mi-su-u*, i.e. *Karkamisû*, occurring on two First Dynasty tablets of about 2000 B.C. *Kargamis* or *Kargamish*, the earliest Assyrian form of the name, occurs in the inscriptions of Adad-nirari II, Shalmaneser I, and Tiglath-pileser I, where it is written , (*alu*)*Kar-ga-mis* (or *miš*)[2], and this also appears to have been the form employed at Khatti in the thirteenth century. By the ninth century the initial K had become G, and from that period onwards the name is regularly written *Gargamis* (or *Gargamish*). Under Ashur-naṣir-pal we find  (var.) , (*alu* v. *mâtu*)*Gar-ga-mis* (or *miš*)[2]; and the regular form in the later Assyrian period is 

[1] Isa. x. 9.

[2] The syllable has both the values *mis* and *miš*.

(with the determinative for "city"), occurring as it does in the inscriptions of Shamshi-Adad IV, Sargon, and Sennacherib, and in the later Assyrian letters, reports, tribute-lists, and geographical, legal and commercial texts. Shalmaneser III and Tiglath-pileser IV refer to the name only under its gentilic form, Shalmaneser as  , Tiglath-pileser as  . In Assyrian commercial documents, which mention the manch of Carchemish, the usual form of the name is  ; sometimes the determinative is substituted for , and rarely the name is written without any determinative, as . The form also occurs, which unless we assume dittography, must be rendered *alu ša Gargamis*, "the city of Carchemish". With regard to the alternatives, *s* or *š*, for the final consonant, the Old-Babylonian form of the name may be cited in support of the first; in favour of the other are the Egyptian and Hebrew forms, as well as a quite unusual writing of the Assyrian gentilic form, which occurs as a proper name in the year 692 B.C., (*m. mâtu*) *Gar-ga-meš-a*-[*a*], i.e. *Gargamešâia*. On the whole, *Kargamis* and *Gargamis* are to be preferred for the Assyrian forms of the name, unless the *s* of the First Dynasty tablets should prove to be a West-Semitic rendering of an original *š*.'

On the Hebrew and Syriac, Professor G. A. Cooke writes:

'In the Old Testament, Karkemish is twice written כַּרְכְּמִישׁ Isa. x. 9 (LXX. *vacat*) and 2 Chron. xxxv. 20 LXX., Luc. *Χαρχαμείς* (so Complut.), and once כַּרְכֶּמֶשׁ Jer. xlvi. 2 LXX. B *Καρμείς* (so Arab. version), *Καρχαμείς* Q. The Targ. writes כַּרְכְּמִישׁ. In 1 Esdras i. 23 (25) = 2 Chron. xxxv. 20 the LXX. has *Χαρκαμύς* B, *Καλχαμύς* A, *Χαρχαμείς* Luc. The Vulg. gives regularly *Charcamis*. In Isa., Jer., 1 Esdras, *ll. cc.*, the Peshiṭto follows the Hebrew form, ܟܪܟܡܝܫ, with the ending *-îsh* for *-îsh*; but in 2 Kings xxiii. 29, where the Hebr. reads simply *to the river Euphrates*, the Peshiṭto renders *to Mabug* (ܡܒܘܓ) *which is on the river Euphrates*, and this rendering is followed by the Arabic version, الى منبج *to Menbaj*. Again, in 2 Chron. xxxv. 20, the Peshiṭto substitutes *Mabug* for the Hebr. *Karkemish*. The last two readings are particularly interesting, as they point to an identification which (though erroneous) must have been traditional in Edessene circles.'

For Greek orthography we have only the evidence of the Versions of the Old Testament passages, quoted above by Professor Cooke. It will be noted that the Versions render the initial consonant as both *κ* and *χ*, the second consonant as *ρ* or *λ*, and the third as *κ* or *χ*. The fourth is always *μ*, and the first two vowels are both always *α*. The termination is either *-εις* or *-υς*.

The indications of locality offered by the authorities are these:

1. Carchemish was in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates. This fact is rendered too obvious by Egyptian, Assyrian, and Hebrew references to call for discussion.

2. It was on the west or Syrian side of the river. This natural inference from Amenemheb's reference is rendered virtually certain by Ashur-naṣir-pal's statement that, when marching on Carchemish from Assyria, he crossed the Euphrates from Bit-Adini, and then 'drew near to Gargamis'.

3. It seems to have been on the very bank of the Euphrates. We infer this from the records of Adad-nirari II and Shalmaneser I, combined with the representations of the citadel

of Carchemish on the bronze gates of Balawat. The records in question mention Carchemish as the western limit of Mesopotamia. Since it was not in Mesopotamia itself (see no. 2), it could hardly be so mentioned unless it was right on the frontier, i. e. on the Euphrates, and conspicuous from Mesopotamia. Therefore there can be little doubt that the water, out of which the Balawat representations show the citadel to have risen, was the Euphrates itself. In support may be adduced also the expression of Jeremiah, 'The army . . . . . which was by the river Euphrates in Carchemish', and also a statement in Sargon's Annals (172) that Gargamis was *ša kišad Puratti*.

4. It lay on a northward prolongation of the route Hamah-Aleppo, and not far from Til-Barsip, which is known to have stood at Tell Ahmar, over against the Sajur mouth.

These two indications are given, respectively, by Egyptian records, and by an expression used in an account of the first campaign of Shamshi-Adad (see p. 16).

The site of Carchemish has therefore to be sought on the right or Syrian bank of the Euphrates within, say, a day's march north or south of the mouth of the Sajur. On this stretch of the right bank (which has been well explored throughout) there is only one site of pre-Christian times, at once large in extent and supplied with an imposing citadel and fortifications, namely the Kala'at at Djerabis. Accordingly, even if no Hittite monuments had been found there, Carchemish would have to be placed on that site. Nevertheless, though this identification, as has been said, is virtually certain, it is not absolutely so, nor will it be till inscriptions from Djerabis in Hittite or cuneiform, contemporary with Carchemish itself, have been read.

Although Carchemish disappears from history with the seventh century B. C., superficial remains at Djerabis show that a not unimportant settlement subsequently occupied the Kala'at. Its period of greatest prosperity appears to have been in the second and third centuries after the Christian era; but its beginnings may fall considerably earlier. Can this successor of Carchemish be identified by external evidence with any known town of the Hellenistic or Roman ages?[1]

As has been said (p. 14), every traveller except Pococke, who after visiting Djerabis has proposed an identification of its later ruins, has considered them to be those of the Syrian *Europus*, said also to have been called *Oropus*. In this opinion they have been followed with virtual unanimity by all students of ancient geography who have concerned themselves with Roman Syria. Their case is as follows.

1. A town Europus is mentioned by certain ancient authors[2] as in Syria. Pliny, Ptolemy, and Procopius explicitly state that it was on the Euphrates, and Ptolemy places it next to and south of Zeugma (= Biredjik). Procopius implies that it lay within easy distance of Mabog-Hierapolis. Hierocles places it in the Euphratensian Eparchy, while the others who mention it, viz. Lucian and Stephen of Byzantium, tell us nothing except that there was a Syrian town of

[1] This question was discussed by D. G. Hogarth in *Liverpool Annals*, ii, pp. 167 ff., after his first visit to the site (1908): but, in the light of knowledge acquired later, it must be re-discussed here.

[2] Lucian, *Quomodo hist. conscr.* 24 and 28; Ptolemy, *Geog.* v. 14; Pliny, *N. H.* v. 24; Steph. Byz., *s. v.*; Hierocles, *Synec.* 713, 11; Procopius, *Bell. Pers.* ii. 20, and *De Aedif.* ii. 9. The Oropus mentioned by Appian (*Bell. Syr.* 57) was more probably a town of that name (also called Europus) in Media, to which Polybius (v. 48) refers, as do also Strabo (xi, p. 524), Ptolemy, in two passages (*Geog.* vi. 2; xiii. 21), and Isidore of Charax (i, p. 248, ed. Müller, *Geog. Gr. Minores*).

the name. Lucian implies that it was well known; but his estimate must be discounted by the fact that he was himself a native of the province in which it lay. Procopius, in one passage, calls it a *χωρίον*. Although this word in his time was beginning to acquire its modern sense of a *village*, it is more likely that he used it in its classical sense of a fortified place, since, in the other passage in which he refers to Europus, he ranks it among *πολίσματα καὶ φρούρια*. Taken one with another the classical references indicate that there was a strong place called both Europus and Oropus on the Syrian bank of the Euphrates at some point south of Biredjik and north of Mambidj, perhaps north of the Sajur estuary. This is no doubt the same Europus which had a Nestorian bishop, David, at the time of the Council of Chalcedon.[1]

2. The 'Peutinger Table' marks a station on the right bank of the Euphrates, on the road between Zeugma and Caeciliana, but, by exception, appends no name to it, but only the numeral XXIIII. In Ptolemy's enumeration of riverain towns from north to south, Europus is the only name which occurs between Zeugma and Caecilia (Caeciliana). It seems probable, therefore, that the unnamed station on the Table should be Europus.

If so, the numeral attached to the name claims attention. Twenty-four Roman miles from Zeugma is ten miles more than the actual distance from Biredjik to Djerabis. The same numeral also appears on the Table as the mileage of the road Hierapolis-Zeugma, although in reality the distance from Biredjik to Mambidj is about thirty-four Roman miles. Even if the two numerals be corrected (as reasonably they may be) by taking an X from the one and adding it to the other, so that the unnamed station becomes fourteen miles, and Hierapolis thirty-four miles distant from Zeugma (which are the true distances of Djerabis and Mambidj respectively from Biredjik), it will remain strange that, although Djerabis is situated very close to the direct natural road from Biredjik to Mambidj, there should be through mileage recorded between these two places instead of mileage from Zeugma to (Europus) and from (Europus) to Hierapolis. This difficulty would disappear if the unnamed station were sought further south than Djerabis, i.e. if we adhered to the first numeral. Twenty-four miles from Zeugma along the Euphrates right bank bring us to the Sajur estuary, where there is a considerable ancient site, a little distance from the Euphrates, now called Kirk Maghara. Remains of tombs are to be seen also down by the river bank. The road from Biredjik to this site bears away eastward from the direct Mambidj road after a few miles, and the fork would be some distance north of Djerabis, were there no settlement of importance there to attract the road. This alternative explanation, however, must not be pressed in view of the likelihood that a copyist of the Table, finding no name for the intermediate station, and perhaps no numeral for the southward continuation of the road to Hierapolis, would make the only numeral in his original, viz. XXIIII, cover the whole road. Some such mistake has in fact been made, since the numeral for the Zeugma-Hierapolis mileage is in any case quite wrong.

3. The city-name Europus occurs in Syriac under the form Aghropos or Aghripos. More will be said presently about this form, which is possibly nearer than Europus to the original native name.

In any case we have to find some name for a town of importance at Djerabis in the first centuries of our era. The evidence of the numerous, extensive, and massive ruins of that period

[1] Gams, *Series Episc.*, p. 437.

there cannot be set aside, and if these ruins are not those of Europus, what other town do they represent? The town in question was evidently so strong, and possessed of such fine buildings, that ancient authorities, and least of all Ptolemy, who enumerates in their geographical succession all towns of any size on the Syrian bank of the Euphrates between Zeugma and Eragiza, can hardly have omitted all mention of it. Yet there is no recorded name except Europus which can be assigned to the Djerabis town without making hopeless confusion of the ancient geography of Euphratean Syria. If Ptolemy and Hierocles mention the town at all (as, we repeat, they can hardly have failed to do), it can only have been Europus or Caecili(an)a. The first author, passing south from Zeugma, places Europus and Caecilia next in order down stream, while the second places Europus southward of *Σύριμα*, which is undoubtedly Ptolemy's *Οὔριμα*, situated opposite Zeugma, but a few miles inland.

Between those two possible alternatives there is no serious question. If we identify Djerabis with Caeciliana, we are in difficulties at once. No reasonable emendation of numerals will reconcile with this situation the Peutinger Table, which places Caeciliana XXIIII + XVI miles from Zeugma;[1] and if we are forced to find a more northerly site for Europus, we must face the fact that while no suitable site is known to exist on the right bank between Djerabis and Zeugma, the distance from Hierapolis to Europus, which Procopius gives us to understand was small, grows with every step taken northward. Even Djerabis itself is about twenty miles in a direct line from Mambidj. It is far better, therefore, to place Caeciliana at Kirk Maghara, near the Sajur estuary, and making the easy emendation XIIII for XXIIII in the Table, to identify with Europus the site at Djerabis, which lies sixteen miles north of Kirk Maghara, and fourteen miles south of the position of Zeugma.

The only other evidence which can be called into court in this matter is that of the name or names given to the Kala'at district in modern times. As has been said in the first chapter, these are two, *Djerabis* and *Djerablus*.[2]

A. Djerabîs (written by local scribes اجريبيس, but by others, e.g. Aleppines, without the initial *alif*) goes back at least to the beginning of the thirteenth century, when Yāḳūt [3] referred to the place as Djirbas (جرباس). Whether this was really a singular in use, from which Djerabis has been formed subsequently as a 'broken plural', or it was derived there and then by the pedantry of Yāḳūt from Djerabis, which he thought to be a plural, is questionable. There is no obvious reason for a plural name, since only one of the two villages now called Djerabis is of any antiquity. This form of the name (especially with initial *alif*) is very near both in sound and orthography to the Syriac name *Agʰropos* or *Agʰripos*, given at least as early as the beginning of the sixth century A.D. to a town in Syria which was almost certainly identical with the Hellenistic and Roman *Europus*. Its bishop, John, figures among other Syrian signatories (e.g. the bishops of Mabog, Laodicea, Berytus, Aleppo, Kinnesrin, Cyrrhus, Dulichium, Perrhe,

[1] It is of course possible to regard the unnamed station as an erroneous intrusion and, eliminating it, to read the Table as indicating sixteen miles from Zeugma to Caeciliana. This is near enough to the true distance between Biredjik and Djerabis (allowing for windings of the road) to justify the identification of the latter with Caeciliana. But the inconsistency with Procopius would still confront us, and the violence done to the Peutinger authority would be serious.

[2] Many places in N. Syria have two names, one Arabic, one Turkish. But such names are wholly distinct, not, as in the case under discussion, both alike in all but termination, and neither, properly, either Arab or Turkish.

[3] ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 688. He speaks of Dair Kinnisrî as 'opposite Djirbas. Djirbas is Syrian'. See p. 3 *supra*.

Urima) of an Allocution addressed by Severus, Patriarch of Antioch, to the abbats and monks of the East.[1] The name of the see is there written ܟܪܟܡܝܫ. It appears also in one manuscript of the lexicographer Bar 'Alī, and in the Tale of Mu'ain.[2]

It is hardly doubtful that this Syriac form represents the same name as both Djerabis and Europus, and refers to the same site. In that case *Europus*, which lacks the initial consonantal sound of the other two forms, is probably either a phonetic degradation (due to Seleucid Greeks) of a native name better represented by the Syriac form, or an assimilation of that native name to one familiar to Macedonians[3]: and *Aghropos* must be taken to represent most nearly the name in local use before the Macedonian occupation of Syria. This probable pre-Hellenistic existence of a native name, made up of the same phonetic elements as Aghropos, raises a further question—was it a survival of the name Carchemish itself? This identification has been suggested to us by two Semitic scholars,[4] in whose opinion it presents no insuperable difficulties in view of the fact that the Assyrians wrote Gargamis with an evidently faintly sounded *g*, which might easily be eliminated, at the opening of the second syllable. Interchanges of *m* and *b* are familiar to Semitic philologists. A striking local example is offered by the alternative names Mabog and Babog (Bambyce), anciently given to the place called indifferently Mambidj and Bambidj at the present day.

Finally, it may be repeated here that Djerabis is the only name now applied by the local peasantry either to their own villages or to the site. The latter they call Kala'at Djerabís. They speak of an individual of their villages as a *Djerabsaui*; but, if they mention his tribe, they call it *Djerablús*. It is especially necessary to record this usage now, because the Baghdad Railway Company, which has adopted *Djerablisse* (in various spellings) as the name of the place, will doubtless soon render *Djerabis* obsolescent.

B. Djerablús, written locally جرابلوس, and pronounced with stress on the final syllable (not, as in Aleppine usage, on the second), raises another problem. How has this alternative name with its terminal syllable come to be? It cannot be derived by any known law of phonetic decay from Djerabis, though the latter might possibly have been derived from it.

It must be asked first, how old is the name *Djerablus*? It has certainly been long current both as the name of the local tribe, and as the official name given to the place in records of the Ottoman administration (e.g. in the title-deed granted to Consul Henderson in 1880). These facts alone would argue considerable antiquity for it. Further, as has been stated in the first chapter, it is the form of the name recorded by all Europeans who saw the site after

[1] W. Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac MSS. in the British Museum*, p. 970.

[2] See Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, col. 32, and G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, in *Abhandlungen D.M.G.*, vii. 3. Also Nöldeke, *Gött. Nachrichten*, 1876, p. 14. We have to thank Dr. A. Cowley and Mr. J. F. Stenning for help in verifying the Syriac authorities.

[3] Europus in Emathia. Seleucus Nicator is said by Strabo (xi, p. 524) to have given this name to Rhaga-Arsacia, and Appian (*Bell. Syr.* 57), who seems to refer to this latter town under the name *Oropus*, includes its name among those given by Seleucus to eastern towns with conscious hellenizing purpose. Stephen of Byzantium, besides his mention of Εὔρωπος in Syria, probably refers again to our town, s. v. Ὠρωπός, as a foundation of Seleucus Nicator.

[4] Mr. R. Campbell Thompson and Dr. A. Cowley. For a conjectural explanation of the meaning of the name Carchemish, see G. Hoffmann, *l. c. supra.*

Pococke's visit in 1737, and before George Smith's second visit in 1876; and it is that recorded by the earliest visitor of all, Maundrell, in 1699.[1]

Since the name Djerablus is of such long standing, it is not permissible to regard it, with the members of the British Euphrates Expedition, as a modern corruption of Djerabis. How then, having the same stem as Djerabis, has it come to have the termination *-blus*?

(*a*) This termination has usually been supposed to represent the Greek -πολις, as in Neapolis–Nablus. If so, we suggest two alternative explanations: (i) A name *Europolis* may have been in use at some late Byzantine period, but there is no authority for it. (ii) The name *Hierapolis*, assimilated in initial sound to Djerabis, came to be attached for some reason and by some process to the site of Carchemish.

This second alternative has found favour not only with several early travellers, who were not aware of the true location of the Hellenistic and Roman Hierapolis, but also with some modern scholars, like J. Menant,[2] who knew very well that Strabo and other authorities fix Hierapolis at Mabog-Bambyce. These scholars have had to assume that Seleucus, when he re-named Mabog,[3] transplanted its cult from the old site of Carchemish; that the latter had previously been the Holy City *par excellence* of the district; and that, under Greek rule, such a tradition of sanctity still clung to its site that, in the speech of the newcomers, it also became known as Hierapolis or Old Hierapolis.[4] For this suggestion also there is no supporting authority, unless an obscure passage of Ammianus Marcellinus[5] can be so interpreted as to supply it. Speaking of 'Commagene, nunc Euphratensis', Ammianus says that it is rendered illustrious by certain cities, whose names, as usually read and punctuated, run *Hierapoli, Vetere Nino et Samosata*. The codices, however (Vaticanus and Petrensis), give *hierapoli veterennino*, &c., and it is possible to read and punctuate the passage *Hierapoli Vetere, Nino*, &c. Thus Ninus (which, in any case, needs explanation[6]) would become either a different city or an alternative name for Hierapolis Vetus. A fatal objection, however, to supposing Ammianus to refer in this passage to the town at Djerabis is this—that, if so, he has omitted all mention of the famous Hierapolis-Bambyce, which, in his time, was actually the capital of Euphratensis; and it does not mend matters much to assume that he is speaking not of the Euphratensis of his own day, which included Cyrrhestica, but, archaistically, of the older Commagene; for, if so, he has still failed to mention Hierapolis-Bambyce in any other connexion. Finally, apart from this objection, it would be difficult to believe that a Hierapolis Vetus existed about twenty miles from Hierapolis-Bambyce without being mentioned by any ancient geographer or historian between the fourth century B.C. and the fourth A.D., although its name was in such popular use that it has survived to this day as Djerablus.

[1] The name *Gerable*, which occurs in the French version of William of Tyre (xiii. c. 11), seems undoubtedly to refer to Hierapolis-Mambidj. It is interesting to find that the Greek name of the latter was still known in 1124 A.D.

[2] loc. cit., *supra*, p. 6.

[3] See Aelian, *H. A.* xii. 2.

[4] It is hardly necessary to point out that the name Hierapolis cannot have existed in Syria before the Hellenistic age.

[5] xiv. 7. This passage was quoted and commented upon by D. G. Hogarth in *Liverpool Annals*, ii. 4, p. 169 (1909); but the interpretation of it suggested above has been propounded to him since by Professor A. H. Sayce.

[6] None that is satisfactory has ever been suggested. It may be intended by Ammianus as a synonym for Hierapolis-Bambyce; or it may indicate a distinct town, possibly that on the site of Carchemish, to which the name Ninus may have attached itself owing to the great antiquity and Assyrian look of its remains. It is, probably, a fanciful nomenclature of Ammianus' own.

It does not, however, follow that the name Hierapolis has nothing to do with the parentage of Djerablus. It may have been transferred to the old site of Carchemish in post-classical times. Noting that, in local usage, it is now a tribe-name, we conceive it possible that it has been transferred from Mambidj with some shift of population, either Moslem or Christian.

(i) The transference of name could have come about through an exodus of Christians from Mambidj such as may well have taken place when the latter place was first occupied by Moslems. With this exodus would have gone the local Bishop 'of Hierapolis',[1] and if he found a new see among the remains of Aghropos-Europus, the name Hierapolis may have become the official ecclesiastical name of the latter, even as *Nikopoli*, once the name of the site at Purkh in Pontus, has become the Armenian ecclesiastical name of Shabin Kara Hissar, more than twenty miles distant.

(ii) That Djerablus should now be the designation of a *Moslem* tribe in the same district is not in favour of the explanation of the name-transference just suggested, but perhaps does not invalidate it; for this name, if current in the locality, would naturally attach itself to any nameless population which, having subjugated, turned out, or exterminated the Christians, occupied the locality later. Nor is it inconceivable that the present Djerablus tribesmen, whose physiognomies proclaim them a mixed race, descend in part from Christian forebears, forcibly converted.

At the same time it should be remarked that local tradition, which preserves a misty memory of a great sack of the Kala'at of Djerabis, when held by a king, Zalzal ibn-Zalazil, in early Moslem times (the sack is ascribed, with many marvels, to Imam 'Ali himself), asserts that subsequently the place was held by families belonging to two clans, the *Geais Msahaleh*, who were Arab, and the *Barak*, who were Turkish. Those sackers of Europus-Djerabis were perhaps tribesmen who came from Hierapolis, and, having already acquired a name from that town, retained it in new quarters, where it eventually took on an initial hard *j* sound by assimilation to the older and persistent name Djerabis.

It is worth while to add the sequel of events in regard to the Kala'at and the villages around, as represented by the local tradition of the district at the present day. The story was told to T. E. Lawrence as follows:

'The last great head of the combined clans, Akhras Oglu, is nine generations back, and after his time his people lost their hold of the district. Amarna was founded by Turks, and Chaker Oglu (Karanfil), Yarymdja, and Yunus (Eminik)[2] were built by Kurds and Turks, in the fig and mulberry-growing valley of the mill-stream. The hill-sides were once all planted with vineyards, whose boundaries are yet known. The Kala'at proper passed out of occupation finally about fifty years ago, and ten years later was granted by the tribe of Djerablus to Hussein Mahli, a Barak Turk.'

(*b*) While it is probable that the termination *-blus* is *-πολις*, there is an alternative. It might

[1] William of Tyre (xvii. c. 17 *ad fin.*, as Mr. E. Barker has kindly informed us) records that Hierapolis was the seat of a Latin archbishop up to the time of Nur ed-din (1150 A.D.), after which the province of Antioch lost the see. This ecclesiastical catastrophe may have coincided with a migration northwards, which halted at Djerabis in safer Edessan territory.

[2] Neighbouring villages. Amarna lies south-east; the other three south-west and west, along the course of the tributary stream described on p. 2 *supra*.

represent a graecized form of the Syrian god-name Bôl or Baal, which appears in several compounds, e.g. in the Palmyrene Yarḥi-bôl, graecized as Ἰεραβωλος, Ἰεραβολος, and Ἰεραβλος (or Ἰεραβλους ?).[1] It is not suggested that the stem Yarhi- is necessarily that of Djerablus. Its termination, which, as a Coptos inscription proves, could be graecized as -βλος or -βλους, may have formed part of another compound contained in the stems of all the names given to the Kala'at site from, at any rate, Aghropos onwards. In either case Djerablus would now represent a forgotten divine name once associated with the town which succeeded Carchemish.[2]

On the whole question we incline to the following conclusions :

1. That *Djerabis* is not a plural formed from Djirbas, but a very old name which represents Aghropos-Europus, if not Gargamis; and that its persistent attachment to the site of the Kala'at clinches the identification of the Hellenistic and Syro-Roman remains there with those of Europus.
2. That *Djerablus* is the name *Hierapolis* assimilated to the older name Djerabis; and that it was transferred to the locality as a tribe-name, owing to a migration of Turks and Arabs from Hierapolis-Bambyce, which took place in the early days of the Moslem re-conquest of North Syria. Its modern use as a place-name is probably due to a mistake of Ottoman officialism, which must be, however, some three or four centuries old.

[1] See Roscher, *Lexikon*, s. v. *Hierabolus*; to which add, for Ἱεραβλος, inscr. in Petrie, *Coptos*, p. 33, no. 6.

[2] It is worth note that the god Hierablos or Hierablûs (the last name is singularly close to Djerablus !) was known in this district as well as in Palmyra; for it was a Hieropolitan soldier who dedicated the altar which Petrie found at Coptos.

THE PLATES

SERIES A. INSCRIPTIONS

A HAND-COPY is appended to each direct photograph of an inscribed stone. These copies are photographs of paper impressions.

(*a*) *Relief Inscriptions.* The ground has been painted solid black, the characters being left white, and surface detail added in black after comparison of the stone itself. Where the worked face of the stone is broken away, a hatched ground marks the lacuna. Broken characters restored with certainty from traces visible upon the stone are outlined in black against the hatched background. Characters restored conjecturally from traces on the stone are left white against the hatched background.

(*b*) *Incised Inscriptions.* The ground has been left white, the characters being drawn in black, according to the indications on the impression, after comparison of the stone itself. Where the worked face of the stone is broken away or weathered, a hatched or dotted ground marks the lacuna. Characters doubtfully restored from traces on the stone have broken outlines.

In the case of monuments found *in situ*, or close to their original positions, reference numbers are marked on the accompanying sketch-plans.

Measurements of the inscribed surfaces only are given in the notes below. Proportional dimensions are given on the Plates in round figures, fractions being ignored.

A. 1. *a.* Limestone. 2·65 × 1·35 m. Surface much weathered and pitted.

l. 3. *ad fin.* doubtful, V. L. ; in the break at the end probably .

l. 4. Last sign but two , very indistinct, possibly or .

A direct photograph will be published subsequently.

A. 1. *b.* Limestone. 1·06 × ·67 m. Surface in bad condition. Found in 1879. See Messerschmidt, C. I. H., ii, Pl. XV, *B.* (*Mitteil. d. Vorderas. Gesellschaft*, 1900, v). l. 3 *init.* .

A. 2. *a*, *a**. Basalt. Door-jamb facing **A. 3.** ·92 × ·68 m.

A. 3. *a*, *a**. Basalt. Door-jamb facing **A. 2.** 1·06 × ·51 m.

A. 4. *a*, *a**. Basalt Drum. 1·97 × ·27 m. The drum had been broken up, and part of it used as a mill-stone. As now published the inscription is put together from six fragments which give almost the entire surface. Well engraved and legible. The direct photograph (**A. 4.** *a.*) gives the largest and best preserved of the six fragments.

A. 4. *b*, *b**. Basalt Stela. 1·00 × ·40 m. Very roughly cut on bad stone, much weathered.

l. 2. *init.* Surface of stone very bad, first character doubtful.

l. 5. Below no traces of any character; last sign but one quite illegible. In this and the next two lines the left-hand side of the stone has a pitted vitreous surface on which the characters are very difficult to distinguish.

l. 6. No traces left in blank space.

l. 8. Beginning wanting. No trace of characters in gap in middle of line.

A. 4. *c*, *c**. Limestone Altar. ·45 × ·12 m. Left-hand side of inscription entirely defaced.

A. 4. *d*. Basalt. ·77 × ·12 m. Inscription on the skirt of a seated figure of a god throned on lions, and bearing mace and double axe. Text built up from seventeen fragments; parts are still missing.

A. 5. *a*, *a**. Basalt Altar. ·40 × ·48 m. Small characters of a peculiar cursive type, sketchily engraved. Readings often uncertain.

l. 2. After , is very doubtful.

l. 3. Above a double character, uncertain. The characters are very illegible; the original form of this sign was perhaps .

l. 4. The whole line much obliterated. *ad fin.*, is very doubtful.

A. 5. *b*, *b**. Limestone Altar. ·60 × ·10 m. The stone has been trimmed down to form a Roman tomb-stela, and only part of the original inscription is left. The inscription ended with the eight characters of the second line.

A. 6. Basalt Corner-stone. 1·00 × 1·01 m. See Plate **B. 6** for direct photographs. Complete except for top left-hand corner. Above , is tolerably certain. Above read , and next to this, ; the broken sign above the first ram's head seems to be ; the last sign is an arrow. Probably . Cf. last line of copy.

A. 7. *a*—*j*. Basalt. Panels of inscription associated with the figures on three slabs. Plates **B. 7–8** *q.v.*

The following inscriptions were found south of the area included in the sketch-plan appended, and their positions are not marked on it.

A. 8. *a*, *b*. Basalt Door-jamb. 1·75 × ·85 m. The stone has been split and scaled by fire, and the top part nearly all destroyed. Rebuilt from fragments; but some parts are still missing. See **A. 11.** *a*.

A. 9. *a*, *b*, *c*. Basalt Door-jamb. 1·60 + ·83 m. Re-used in the pavement of a doorway.

l. 2. *init.* One character chipped away. The small gap in this line is due to a hole made for lifting the block. See **A. 11.** *b*.

A. 10. *a*, *b*, *c*. Basalt Door-jamb: 1·55 × ·86 m. A pair with **A. 9**, near to which it was found. The stone has been re-dressed at the top to a sloping edge, and the first line has been obliterated except for an angle at either end. There is a hole made for lifting the block in l. 4 *ad fin.*

l. 6 *ad fin.* The bull's head sign had been carefully defaced, but could be traced upon the stone. See **A. 11.** *c*.

A. 11. *a*. = **A. 8.** *a*, *b*.
b. = **A. 9.** *a*, *b*, *c*.
c. = **A. 10.** *a*, *b*, *c*.

SERIES B. SCULPTURE

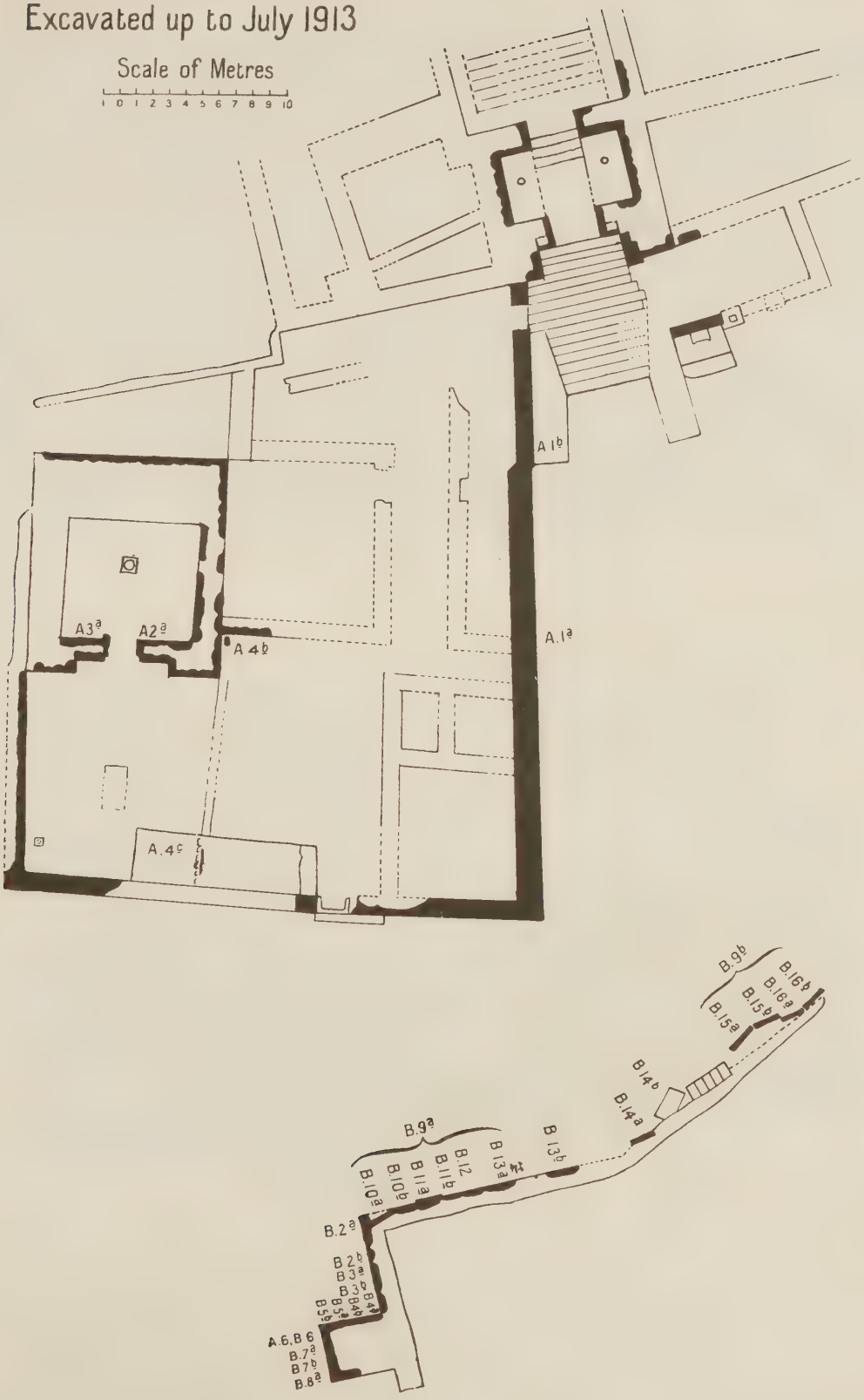
In the case of monuments found *in situ*, or close to their original positions, reference numbers are marked on the accompanying sketch-plans.

Measurements of the whole carved face of each slab are given in the notes below. Proportional dimensions are given on the plates in round figures, fractions being ignored.

B. 1. *a*. View from NW. showing slabs **B. 10.** *a* to **B. 14.** *a* and **B. 2.** *a* to **B. 5.** *b* in position as found. See Sketch-plan.
b. View from WNW. showing slabs **B. 3.** *a* to **B. 8.** *a* in position as found. See Sketch-plan.
B. 2. *a*. Limestone: 1·30 × 2·00 m.
b. Basalt: 1·35 × 1·12 m.
B. 3. *a*. Limestone: 1·30 × 2·03 m.
b. Basalt: 1·30 × 1·15 m
B. 4. *a*. Basalt: 1·10 × ·65 m.
b. Basalt: 1·05 × ·90 m.
B. 5. *a*. Basalt: 1·10 × ·65 m.
b. Basalt: 1·05 × 1·37 m.
B. 6. *a*. Basalt: 1·10 × ·30 m. Side. See **A. 6.**
b. Basalt: 1·10 × ·70 m. Front. See **A. 6.**
B. 7. *a*. Basalt: 1·10 × ·85 m. See **A. 7.**
b. Basalt: 1·10 × 1·10 m. See **A. 7.**
B. 8. *a*. Basalt: 1·15 × ·95 m. See **A. 7.**
b. View from SW. showing slabs **B. 6** to **B. 8.** *a* in position as found.
B. 9. *a*. Series of Mythological Slabs: south-western part (B. **10–14** *a*). See Sketch-plan.
b. „ „ „ : north-eastern part (**B. 15–16**). See Sketch-plan.
B. 10. *a*. Basalt: 1·25 × 1·75 m.
b. Limestone: 1·25 × *c*. 1·70 m.
B. 11. *a*. Basalt: 1·20 × 1·50 m.
b. Limestone: 1·15 × 1·05 m.
B. 12. Basalt: 1·17 × 1·37 m.
B. 13. *a*. Limestone: 1·20 × 1·95 m.
b. Limestone: 1·25 × 1·85 m.
B. 14. *a*. Basalt: 1·30 × 1·10 m.
b. Basalt: 1·25 × 2·04 m.
B. 15. *a*. Limestone: 1·27 × 1·70 m.
b. Limestone: 1·24 × 1·44 m.
B. 16. *a*. Limestone: 1·27 × 1·44 m.
b. Limestone: 1·22 × 1·53 m.

R. Campbell Thompson's Survey of the Kala'at 1911.

SKETCH PLAN
of
Area of LOWER CITY
Excavated up to July 1913



a

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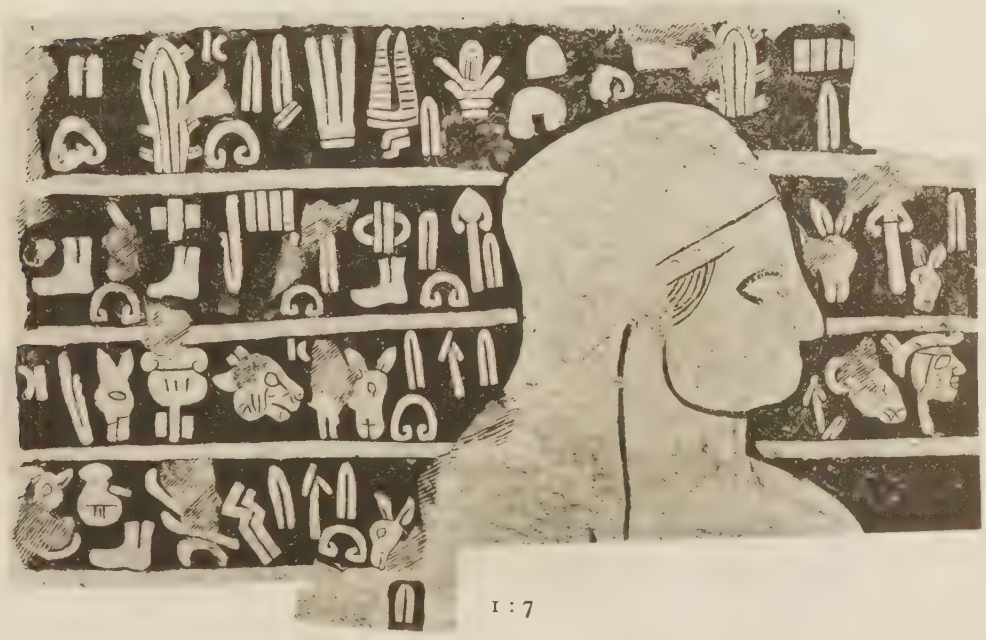
b



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a

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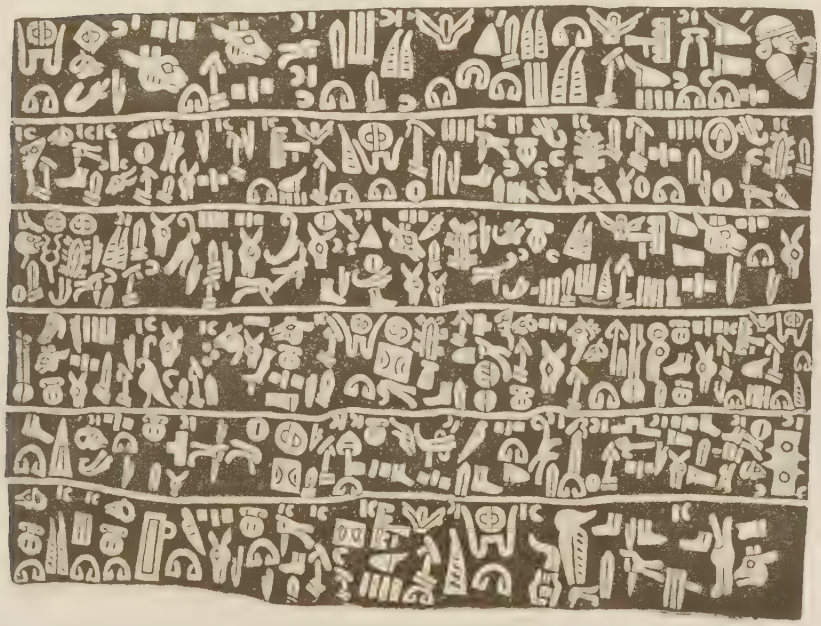
*a**



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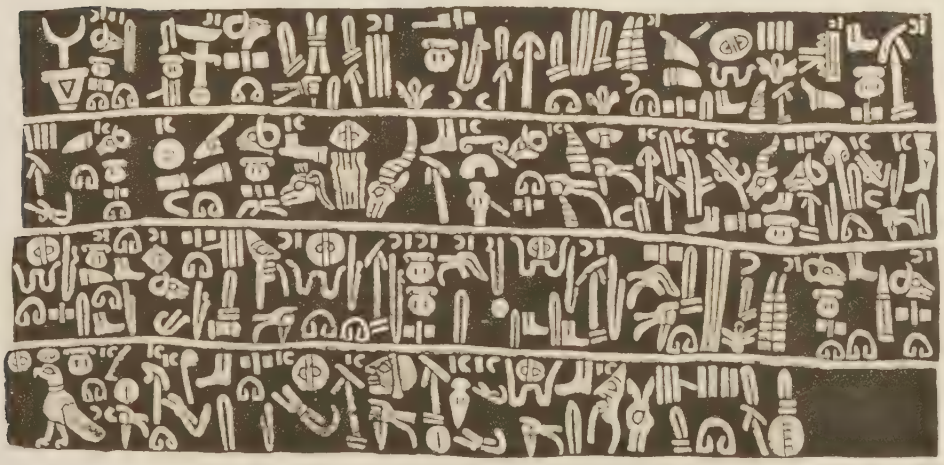
*a**



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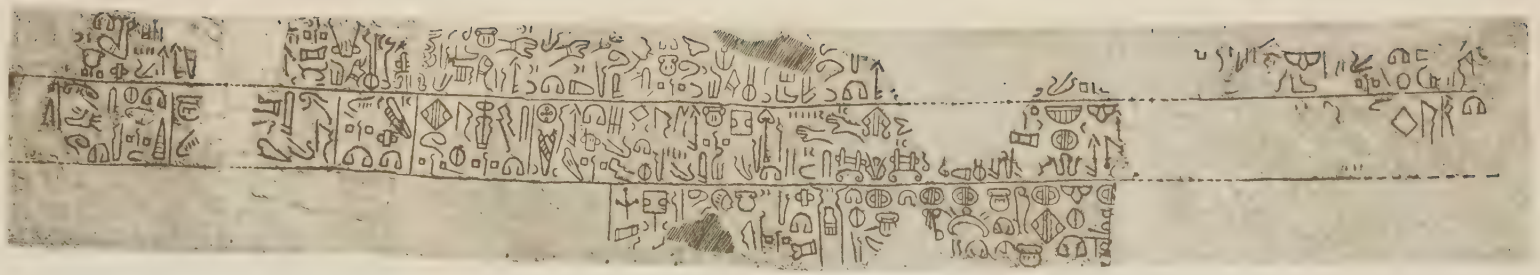

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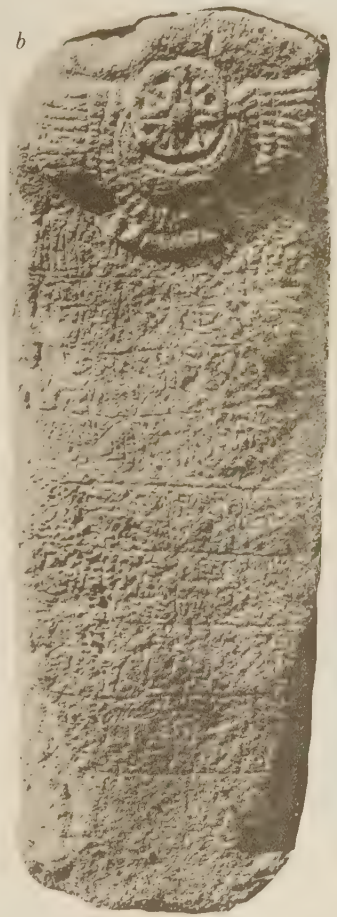

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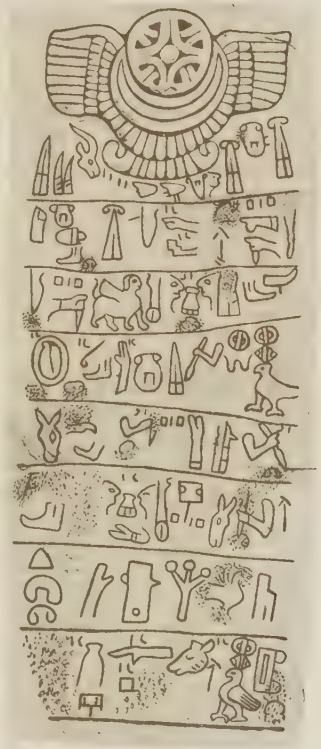

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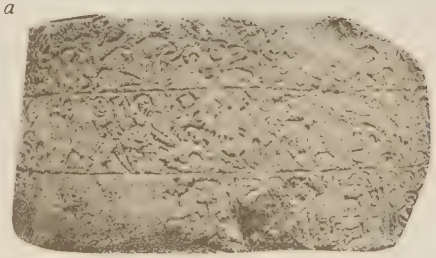

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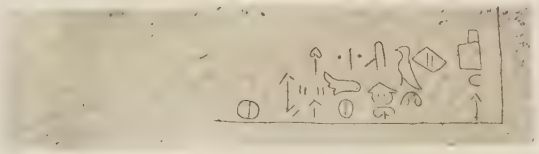
*c**



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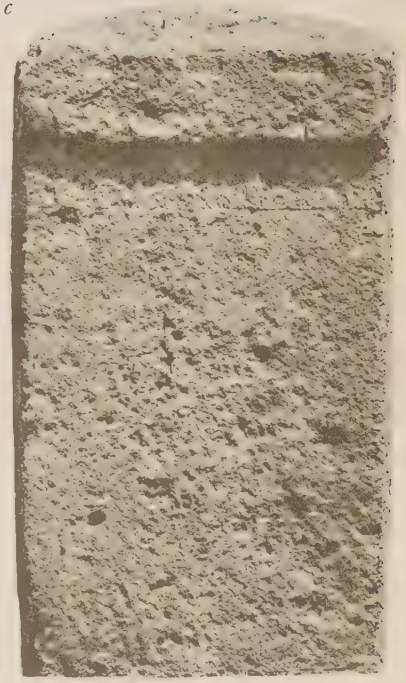

1 : 10

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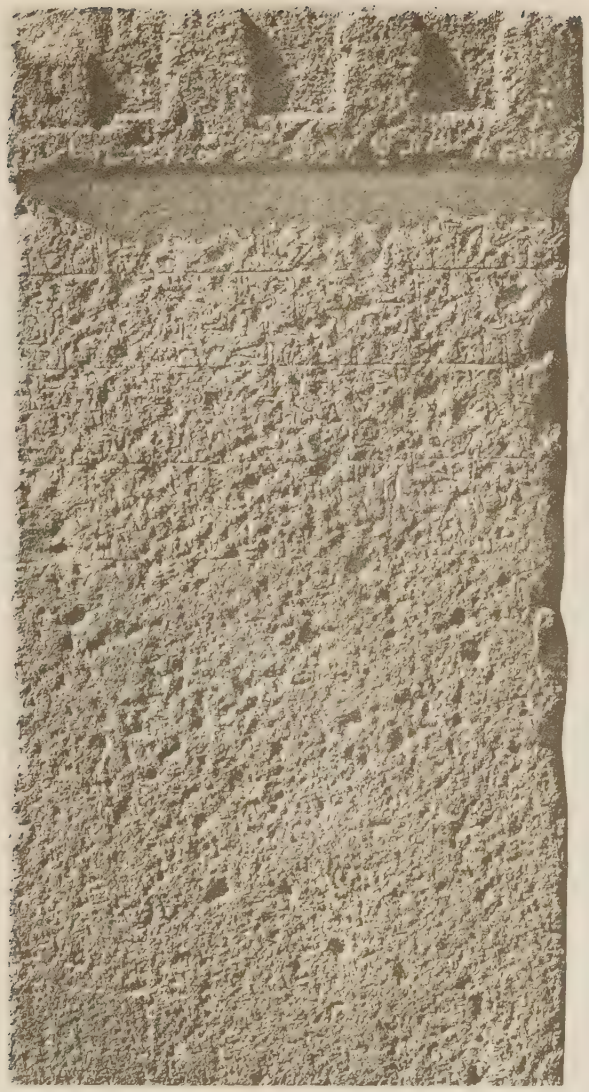

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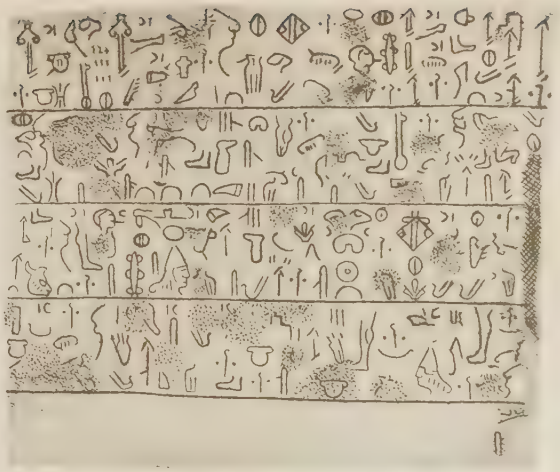

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*b**

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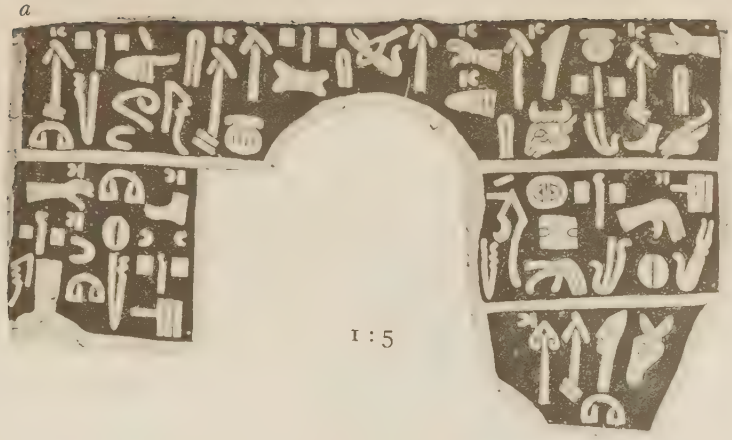

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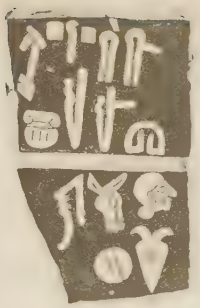

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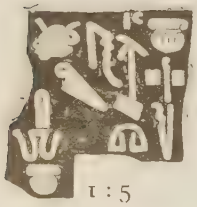

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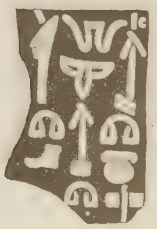

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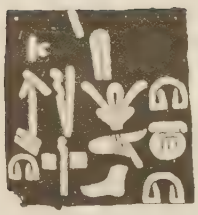

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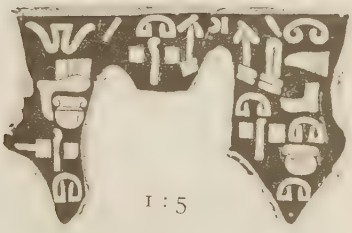

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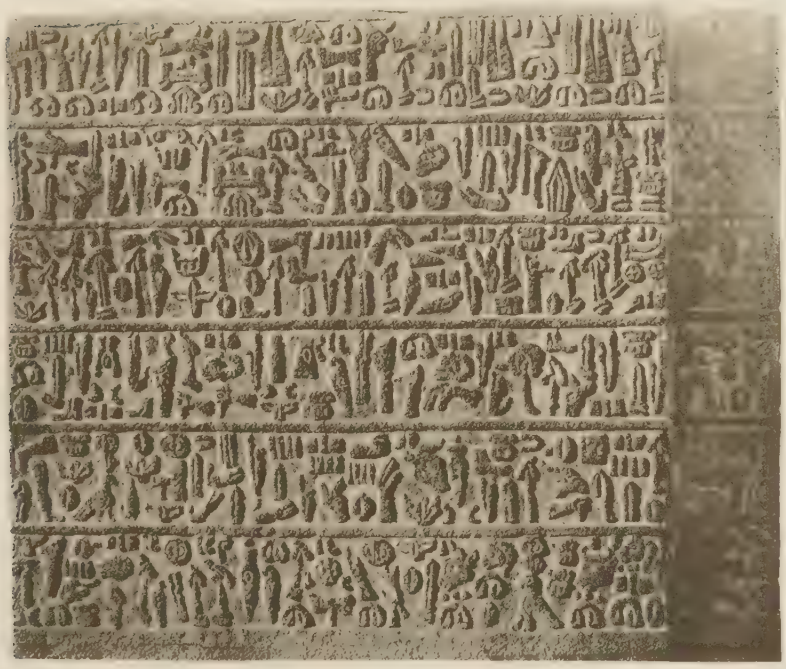

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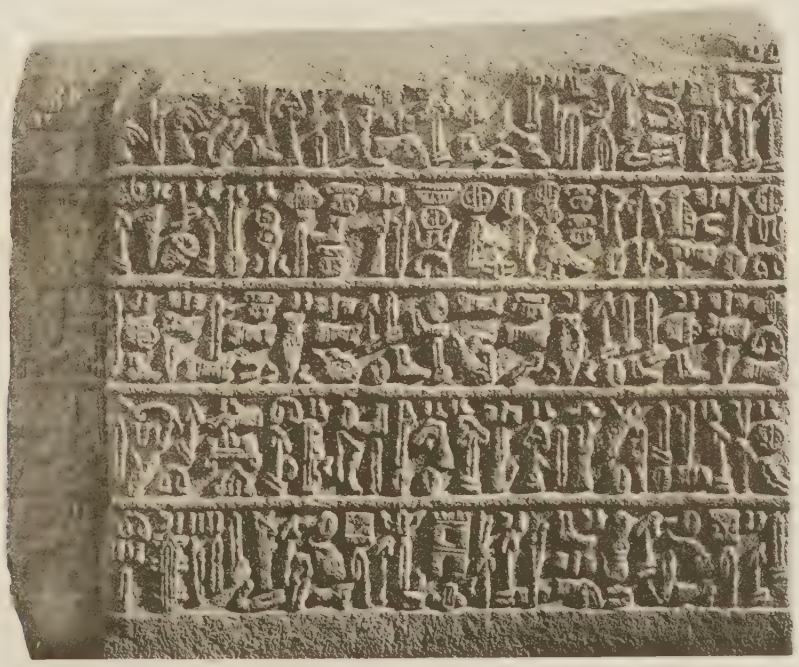

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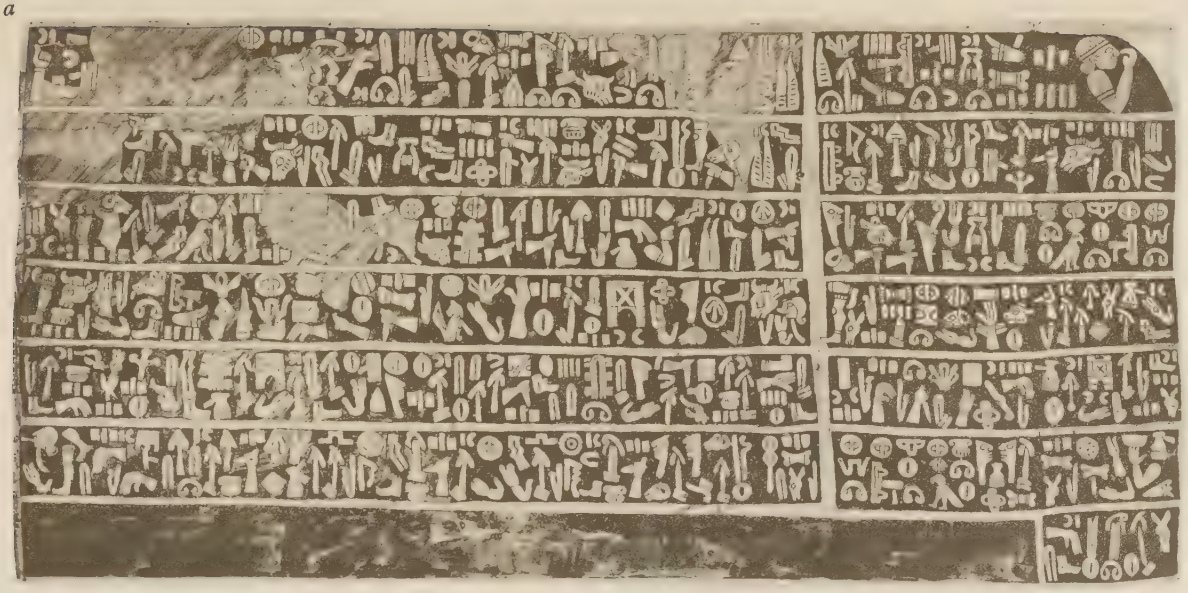

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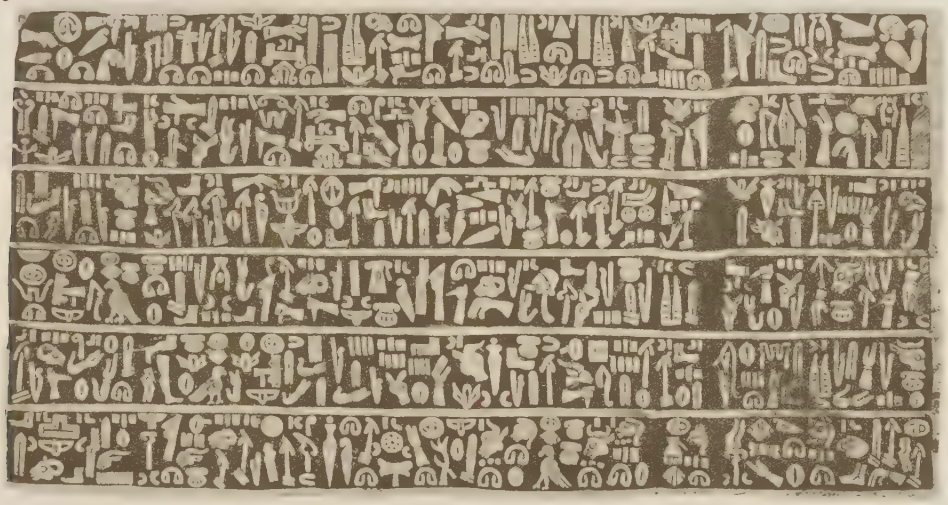

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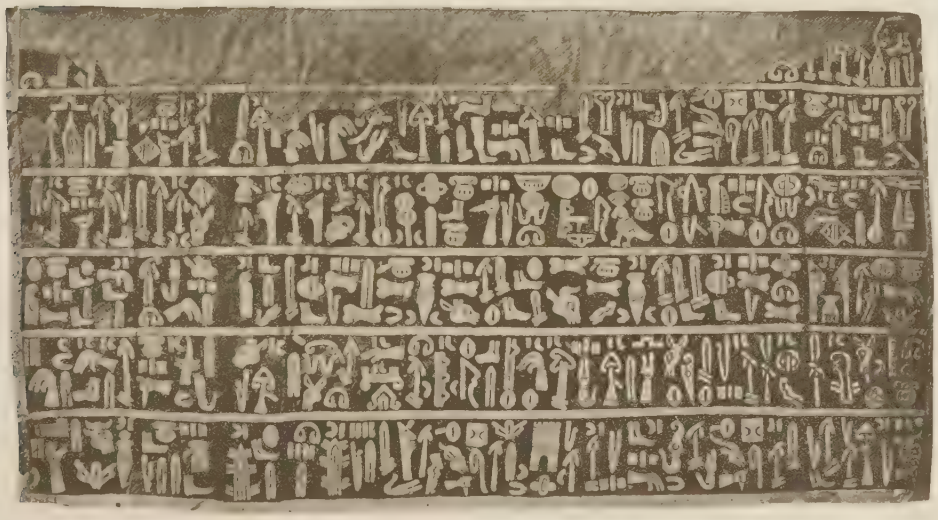

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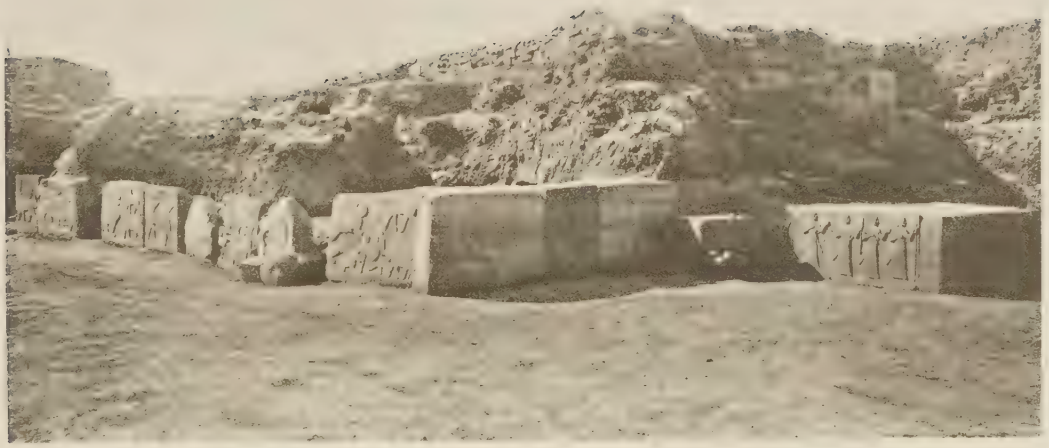

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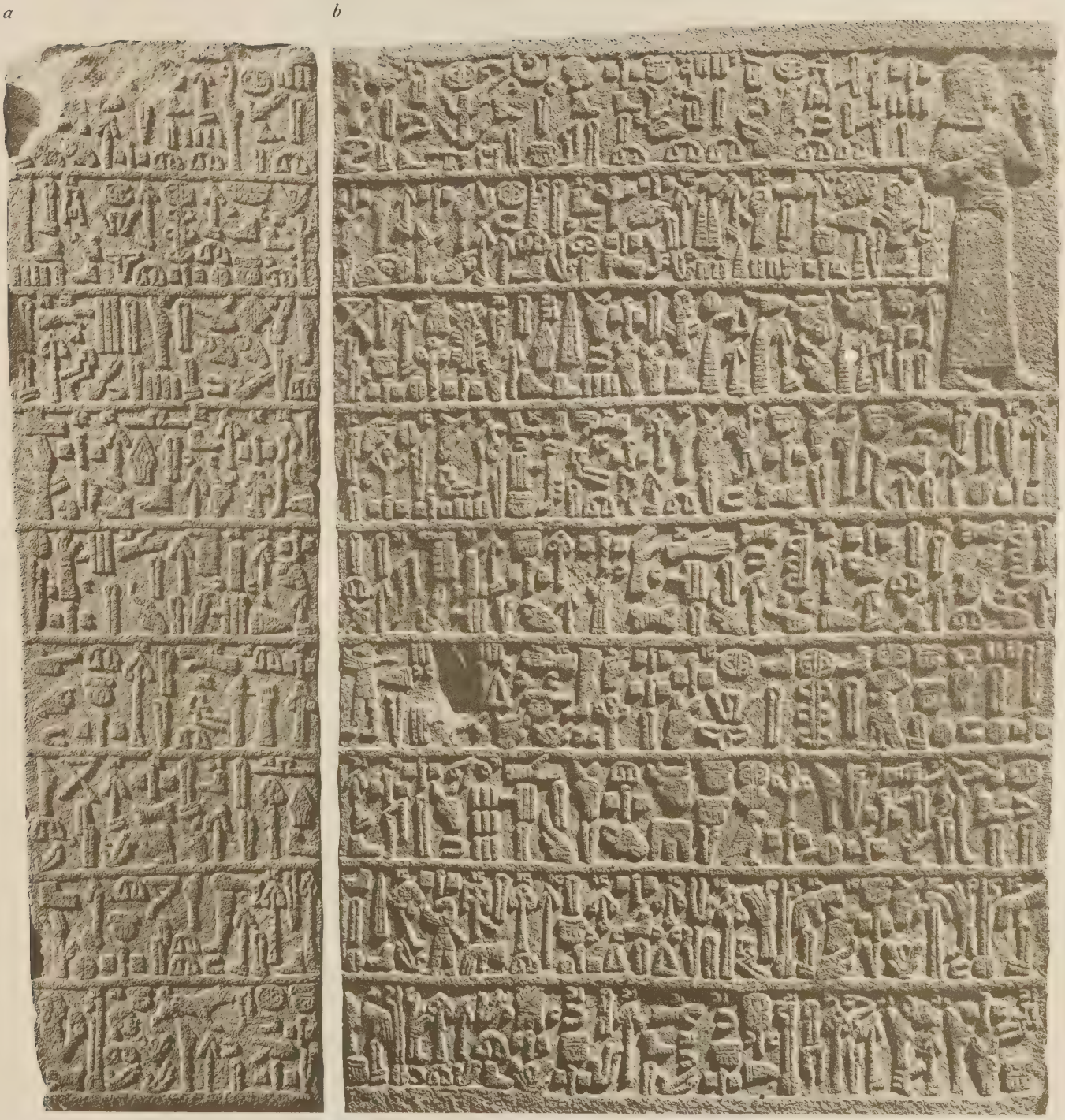

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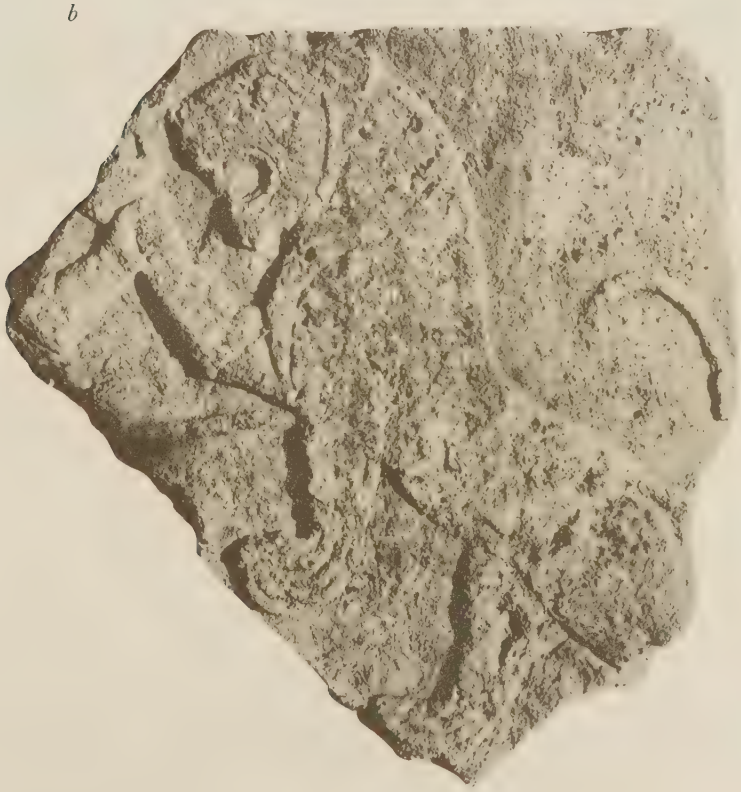

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